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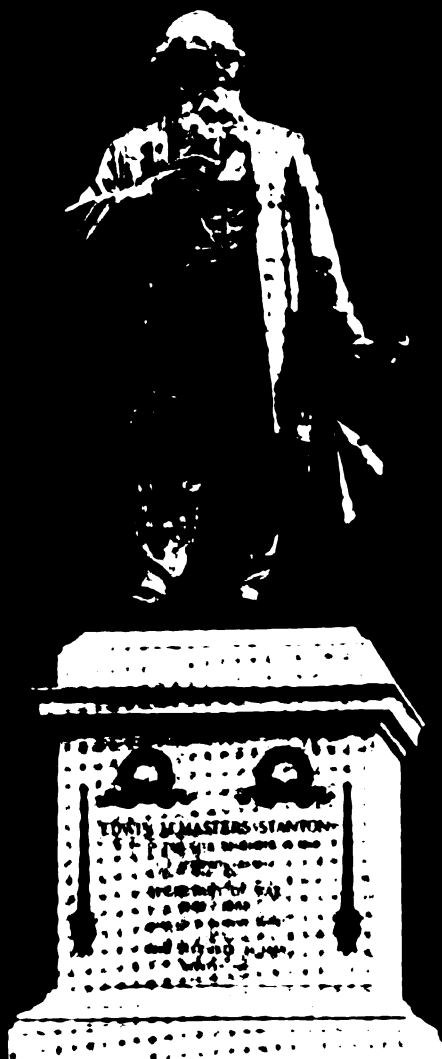
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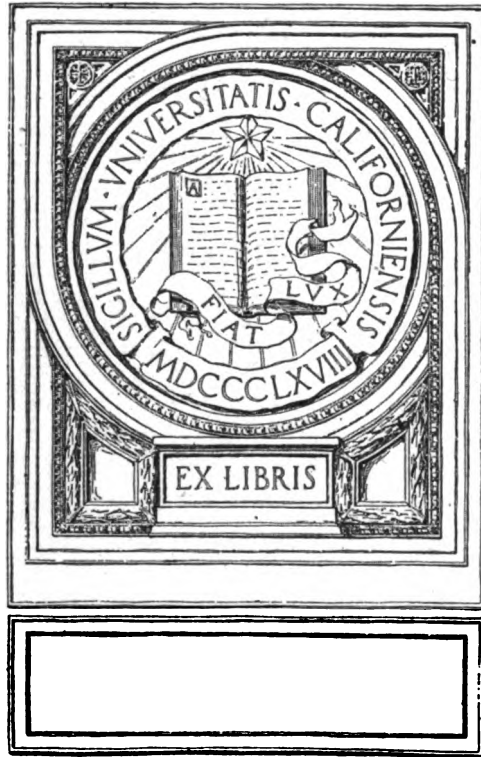
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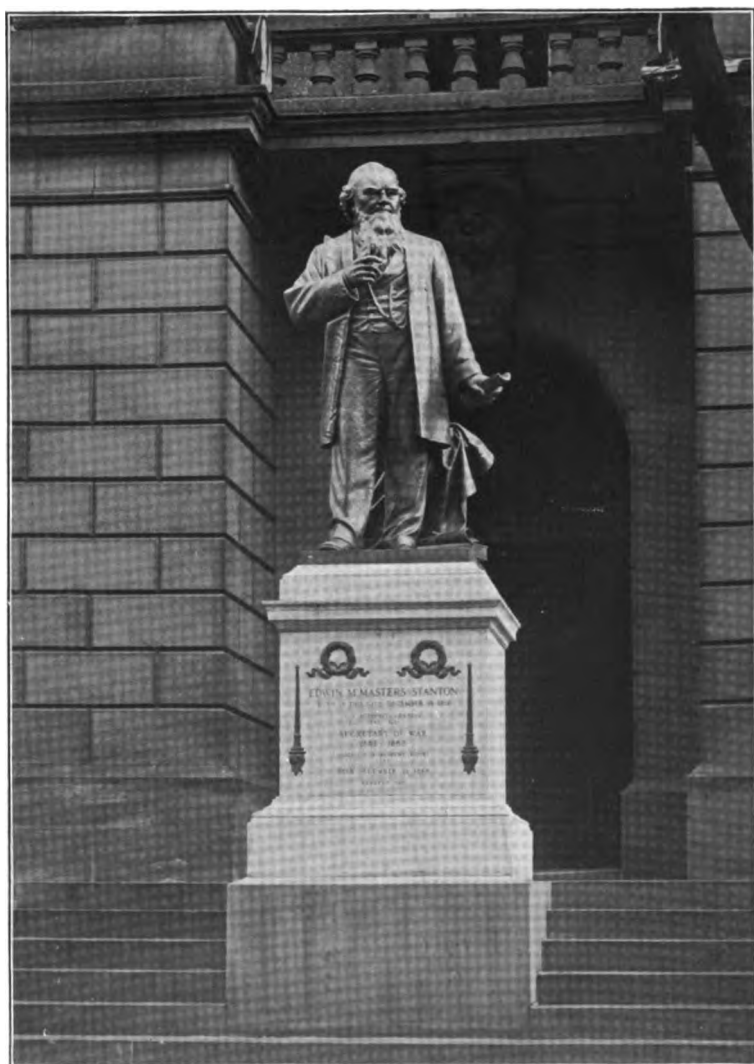
*In memoriam, Edwin McMasters
Stanton, his life and work*

Joseph Beatty Doyle

ALVMNVS BOOK FVND



IN MEMORIAM
EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON



STANTON MONUMENT

IN MEMORIAM

EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON

HIS LIFE AND WORK

**With Account of Dedication of Bronze
Statue in His Native City**

By JOSEPH B. DOYLE

**Under Auspices of
The Stanton Monument Association**

STEUBENVILLE, OHIO

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1911

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SOUVENIR EDITION.

This souvenir edition of Life of E. M. Stanton, printed for subscribers only, is limited to six hundred twenty-five copies, of which this is

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History Alumnus

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ALUMNUS

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JOSEPH B. DOYLE.
Published October, 1911

**TO THE
SOLDIERS AND SAILORS
OF
JEFFERSON COUNTY, OHIO,**

Whose valor and blood contributed so largely to the preservation of the Union, and whose welfare was the constant solicitude of the subject of this Memoir, this volume is respectfully dedicated.

PREFACE.

The question may be asked why should there be published at this time a memoir of Hon. Edwin M. Stanton? Hon. H. C. Gorham and Mr. Frank A. Flower have gone so generally over this field, and published two such excellent biographies, that it would seem as though there were nothing more to do in that direction, unless, indeed, as Mr. Flower has suggested, one were disposed to publish the whole life of Stanton, which would require as many volumes as Nicolay and Hay have devoted to their life of Lincoln. But the present memoir does not aim at anything of the kind, it does not pretend to cover the field with anything like the details in the works already mentioned. It was thought however desirable to have a brief biography of Steubenville's greatest son prepared in connection with the dedication of the first statue to his memory, together with some local matters necessarily omitted from the other books.

It would be impossible to publish any life of Stanton without to some extent going over ground previously occupied, and this has not been attempted. The writer freely acknowledges his indebtedness to Messrs. Gorham and Flower, for their labors in gathering material, by which the work of compiling of the present book has been greatly lightened, and their histories should be in every Jefferson county library, public and private. Nevertheless neither facts nor opinions have anywhere been taken for granted, but

every part of the great war secretary's career has been tested by all accessible authorities, such as original records, reports of eye witnesses and other available evidence.

Among the published works relied upon for data in compiling this work are Von Holst's Constitutional History of the U. S., Rhodes's History of the U. S., Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Nicolay and Hay's Life of Lincoln, Bates's "Lincoln in the Telegraph Office," Government Records and Atlas of the Rebellion, Rosenthal's "Lincoln, Master of Men," with other sketches and personal information, for which the writer expresses his thanks.

Acknowledgement is also due to Mr. Charles P. Filson, to whose invaluable aid should be credited most of the illustrations.

While a work of this character should be absolutely free from any partisan bias yet that does not preclude the writer from drawing conclusions from and expressing opinions upon any state of facts therein presented. This is necessary in every history, with the sole qualification that the facts be fairly presented and the conclusions honestly drawn. While this work is published under the auspices of the Stanton Monument Association the editor is alone responsible for all statements and opinions expressed therein.

It may even yet be too early to fix Edwin M. Stanton's true place in the history of the civil war, but signs are not wanting to indicate that looking down the perspective of ever lengthening years certain figures will grow relatively larger while others grow smaller, until at the last through the long dim

PREFACE

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vista only three will be plainly discernible—Lincoln, Stanton and Grant, and it may be difficult to tell which is the most prominent.

J. B. D.

Steubenville, O., September, 1911.

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**IN MEMORIAM
EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON**

IN MEMORIAM.

EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON.

INTRODUCTION.

It has been said that great crises produce great men, but while it may be accepted as an axiom that a crisis in either public or private affairs is calculated to develop whatever is latent in the brain of the community or the individual, yet if the material is not available when demanded by the exigency of the times the tide ebbs, and nothing is left to mark its flood save a line of shifting sands which time sooner or later obliterates. So, after all, men and not simply environment are the prominent factors when an emergency arises, or when statecraft is needed through a series of years to guide the ship through the whirlpools of revolution and over the shoals and quicksands of turmoil and anarchy. And this task does not always fall to the person who is at the head of the state either in reality or nominally. Richelieu, a Cabinet minister, had more to do with the making of France than King Louis XIII. Pitt contributed more towards the final outcome of the Napoleonic wars and the establishment of England's greatness than King George, his supposed master. The House of Savoy and the Garibaldian heroes might have struggled blindly and in vain towards Italian unity had it not been for the far

seeing statesmanship of Cavour, and Emperor William would in all probability have never been crowned at Versailles had not the man of blood and iron broken the way.

Two epochs in American history stand out so pre-eminently that all others, however important they may have been in themselves, are by comparison dwarfed into seeming insignificance. These are the War of the Revolution and the War of the Rebellion. They are the snow clad peaks which tower above the surrounding foothills on either side, the latter being far from Lilliputian. One was in its final effect a struggle for the creation of the Union; the other was fought for its preservation. Less than a century separated the two events, and some of those who witnessed the second conflict were children of those who witnessed or engaged in the first; and many more were grandchildren. The interval of three-quarters of a century extending between the two periods is as only a few seconds on the face of Time's great dial.

It is not necessary to say that each of these two periods was a crisis demanding the best service of the greatest men of their own or any other age. In the line of military exploits the later conflict offered a more imposing if not more difficult field. It must not be forgotten, however, that the former demanded the highest generalship and much closer husbanding of scanty resources in order to win those skirmishes which Napoleon truthfully declared had changed the history of the world. Like the epochs themselves one man in each looms up above all others. Washington from his broad Virginia acres, the courtly country gentleman of the old school, versed in border warfare and the highest learning of his day; Lincoln from the rude cabin of the western wilderness, self taught and

self made; each a thorough American in the best sense of the word; each a genuine product of the soil and his time; each excelling in the rare and precious faculty of judging and selecting men for the work they were required to do. Patient under adversity, calm under prosperity, unselfish in their aims, lofty in their ideals, their names and lives will be linked together so long as men read history or study patriotism. There is a close parallel, rather than antithesis, between the lives and work of Washington and Lincoln, especially in the fact that each had a strong right arm on which he leaned during the hours that seemed darkest. an arm that never tired or faltered; an arm that seemed at times to bear the whole burden and strain of government—its defense against foreign foes and domestic factions. That arm in Washington's case was Alexander Hamilton, and in Lincoln's it was Edwin McMasters Stanton. As this memoir is only intended to present an outline of the latter's life and character any extended discussion in regard to Hamilton would be out of place, but the lives and characters of these two men bear such a striking resemblance to each other that one may be pardoned for alluding to it. They were nearly the same age, Hamilton's career being cut short by Burr's bullet at the age of 47, and Stanton dying worn out at 55. Each was born in a small town and of good family, and each was compelled through poverty to support himself while he was yet a small boy. The masterful spirit in each asserted itself at an early age. Hamilton in his twelfth year, a storekeeper's clerk in the West Indian village of St. Croix, learning to weigh sugar and keep accounts, was training for the day when he should place the disorganized finances of a great nation on a sound and enduring foundation. Stanton at thirteen in the book-

store of his Steubenville friend was already absorbing those supplies of knowledge which not only placed him at the head of the legal profession, but broadened his mind and strengthened his character in every direction. Shortly after attaining the age of sixteen Hamilton left for New York and entered King's College, now Columbia University, where he remained three years. Stanton at almost exactly the same age left for Gambier, Ohio, where he entered Kenyon College. Owing to straitened circumstances he was able to remain only eighteen months, when he came home, studied law, and was admitted to the bar before he was quite twenty-one years of age. As Hamilton suddenly became an orator almost before he knew it so did Stanton make his sudden entry to the bar. Hamilton left college at nearly the same age as Stanton, but the country was then in the throes of revolution, and instead of at once taking up his chosen profession of the law he became a soldier for six years, first serving as Washington's aide-de-camp and performing more than one brilliant feat of arms and diplomacy. Consequently he was not formally admitted to the bar until he was twenty-five, although that fact did not prevent him from previously doing a considerable amount of legal work. As a lawyer each became eminent but it was as a leader in politics and in the science of government that each made his mark in history. Hamilton's great work was to convert the rope of sand which held the thirteen Colonies in a loose confederation into a strong constitutional frame which should bind all parts of the country into a compact Nation. Stanton's task was to preserve that work for future generations, and to this end

his energy and constructive faculties had full opportunity for expansion. For five years Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury, and during that period he laid the foundations of the Government broad and deep. For something over six years Stanton was Secretary of War, and what he accomplished during that period will be briefly told in the following pages. Both entered office in comfortable circumstances, and both retired from public life poor in this world's goods, although each had opportunity of amassing a fortune. Both were the objects of bitter calumny during life and have since received only tardy justice. What a late writer, Oliver, has said of Hamilton can with equal force be applied to Stanton: "He was as heedless of all matters of style and deportment as of his popularity or even of his life. Ever intent on objects he followed them in and out through the crowd of rapidly changing events, caring infinitely less for the opinions of people formed upon his personal merits than for the ultimate success of his pursuit. Few men filling so large a space in history have been less concerned with their own particular appearance or fame in the pageant of affairs. He became a lawyer for a living, a statesman because it was the strongest passion of his nature to promote union, order and progress. * * * To endure human folly in patient and hopeful expectation of the inevitable reaction was contrary to his character. Throughout his whole life the paramount motive was to get things done, not to make himself a great name by doing things. He was great in action which is for the moment, and in thought which is for all time."

The genius of each of these great men is even

now only beginning to be appreciated. A small monument indicates Hamilton's grave in Trinity Churchyard, New York, noticed by comparatively few of the thousands who pass within a few feet of it every day, and a plain shaft marks the last resting place of Stanton in a quiet Washington cemetery. But contemporary with the movement which has culminated in the erection of a monument to the great War Secretary at the place of his nativity is a project to place a fitting commemoration of Hamilton at the National Capital where it will doubtless be accompanied later by one of Stanton.

PART I.

Stanton's Life and Work.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHPLACE, SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.

Ancestry and Birth—Boyhood Days—Father's Death—Working for Livelihood—College Life—Prototypes of Coming Years—Why He "Went Over to Jackson"—Embryo Defenders of the Union.

Over a doorway on the front of a three story brick building, on Market Street, the main business thoroughfare of the City of Steubenville, Ohio, is a bronze tablet containing the following inscription:

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Attorney General,
Secretary of War,
Justice of the Supreme Court,
Born Here 19th December, 1814.
Erected by the School Children of Jefferson County,
A. D., 1897.

The stranger who reads this and concludes therefrom that Mr. Stanton was born in the large building on which the inscription is placed would find himself

8 BIRTHPLACE, SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

mistaken. The real Stanton birthplace is a two-story brick dwelling a few feet in the rear, whose gable end is towards the street. At the time of our subject's birth there was a pleasant yard extending to the street with trees, and no doubt flowers and shrubbery. The exigencies of population and business caused in time the erection of the larger brick in front, shutting off the view of the other but not otherwise interfering with it. Steubenville at that time was a fair sized village of 800 or 900 inhabitants, with two flouring mills in operation, and a woolen factory and paper mill just about starting. Mr. Stanton was of Quaker descent, the peaceful quality of his ancestry standing out in marked contrast to his own vigorous nature during the civil war. They were residents of Massachusetts, but the Puritanism of that locality made it unpleasant at least for those of their faith, and about the middle of the eighteenth century they emigrated to North Carolina and resided near Beaufort, where our subject's grandparents, Benjamin Stanton and Abigail Macey were married in 1774. Miss Macey was a descendant of Thomas Macey, immortalized by Whittier's poem, "The Exiles," for giving shelter to a banished Quaker. Not content with arresting the unoffending Friend and carrying him to Boston jail the Sheriff and his posse proposed to carry off Macey and give him a taste of the lash. But he and his wife fled to an adjacent stream where a small boat was lying, into which they leaped and soon were beyond the reach of their pursuers. From the river into the open bay they rowed, around Cape Ann and past Gloucester bar to Nantucket where



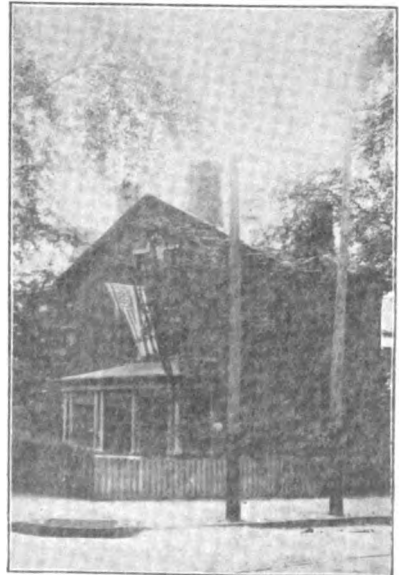
STANTON'S BIRTHPLACE



STANTON'S BOYHOOD HOME



STANTON'S HOME, 1840-44



STANTON'S HOME, 1844-69

8 BIRTHPLACE, SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

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CALIFORNIA



STANTON'S BIRTHPLACE



STANTON'S BOYHOOD HOME



STANTON'S HOME, 1840-44



STANTON'S HOME, 1844-69

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A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. V. W. X. Y. Z.

they were safe from the angry Sheriff and Puritan parson.

There in 1660 they located as pioneer settlers, as the poet says:

And how, in log-built cabin,
They braved the rough sea weather
And there, in peace and quietness,
Went down life's vale together.

How others drew around them,
And how their fishing sped,
Until to every wind of heaven
Nantucket's sails were spread."

From there the Maceys and Stantons emigrated to North Carolina, where Benjamin Stanton and Abigail Macey were married as stated. Through inheritance Benjamin Stanton, like Washington, became a slaveholder, and like Washington the holding of slaves any longer than was compatible with their own good was incompatible with his sentiments. So in 1787 he proposed to free his slaves but this was forbidden by the statutes of the State. Hence he drew up his will providing that "all the poor black people that ever belonged to me be entirely free whenever the law of the land will allow, until which time, my executor I leave as guardian to protect them and see that they be not deprived of their rights,¹ or in any way misused." In the year 1799 the Friends or Quakers living in the slave states felt so out of harmony with their environment that there was a general exodus to the then Northwest Territory which had been irrevocably devoted to freedom. There were already Friends settlements in Western Pennsylvania, and to those their co-religionists came until suitable lands could be secured beyond the Ohio river.

10 BIRTHPLACE, SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

Among these was Abigail Stanton, her husband having died a short time previously, with six of her children, including a married daughter and son-in-law. Two years later she was followed by three remaining married daughters. David Stanton was the oldest son. By 1800 land was secured and the party started for their new home, crossing the Ohio at what is now Rayland, Jefferson county, O. Trees had to be cut before teams could be brought forward to where Mt. Pleasant now stands, Abigail Stanton's wagon is said to have been the pioneer of its class in that section. She located on Section 23, one mile west of Mt. Pleasant and part of which was afterwards known as the Griffith farm. In 1806 the stipulated payment of \$2 per acre having been made a Government patent was issued for the section signed by Thomas Jefferson, President, and James Madison, Secretary of State. Of this Mrs. Stanton retained 480 acres, and here she established her home and reared her family. Many of her negroes came with her, and their descendants still live in and around Mt. Pleasant. Mrs. Stanton was an active personality, and her voice was often heard in the yearly meetings of her co-religionists. She lived on the farm until 1817 when her family having scattered, she sold it to Aaron Brown, her son-in-law, and by him it was sold the next year to Evan Griffith, who left it to his descendants.

Among others who came to Ohio at this time was Lucy Norman, a native of Culpepper county, Va., not a Quaker, but who after the death of her mother, found with them a congenial home. Between her and David Stanton, who in the meantime had become a rising physician, a friendship had sprung up resulting

in marriage, for which an apology was demanded of young Stanton for choosing a partner outside of his own sect. He refused to do so, and the young couple removed to Steubenville, and occupied the dwelling already described on upper Market street. Here on Monday, December 19, 1814 their first child was born, and named Edwin McMasters Stanton, his middle name being that of the husband of the daughter of one of Lucy Norman's friends with whom she had come from Virginia. All accounts represent the new born child as a puny, sickly infant, which on account of the serious condition of the mother was transferred temporarily to the home of Mrs. Warner Brown across the street. For two years the family lived in the Market street house when Dr. Stanton purchased what was then a two story brick dwelling on North Third street, west side, a few doors south of Washington. The building is still standing but considerably changed in shape and appearance, the first floor being lowered, and the two stories converted into three. The old house, whose illustration appears elsewhere was long a landmark with its stone steps guarded by a wrought iron railing. Here Stanton's early days were spent, and when he had reached the age of four years he was apparently a healthy, if not a rugged youth. Both Dr. and Mrs. Stanton being broad in their views and hospitable in their nature their home was the resort of traveling preachers, literary people and those who were generally prominent in the community. They were true to the abolition principles of their ancestry, and when in 1821 Benjamin Lundy, of Mt. Pleasant brought the forms of "The Universal Genius of Emancipation," the pioneer abolition news-

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paper, to Steubenville to be printed he made the Stanton home his stopping place.

There are plenty of stories concerning Stanton's boyhood, some of them possible apocryphal, but all of them interesting, and indicating that he was more or less of a leader among his playmates. He began attending school at the age of seven, and the next year studied with Henry Orr, who conducted a small academy in the second story of the brick edifice still standing on the southwest corner of Third and Washington streets. At ten he was admitted to Rev. George Buchanan's school on Market street, where he studied Latin, Greek and corresponding branches. William C. Howells in his reminiscences writes of attending an evening grammar school where his seat mate was Edwin M. Stanton, delicate physically, grave and studious. This was probably Mr. Buchanan's school. He was a great lover of natural history, and had quite a museum, including live snakes, insects, frogs, skeletons, etc., on which he would deliver lectures to his young associates whenever he could get an audience. His disposition was religious, and at the age of ten he attended a Presbyterian Bible class conducted by Mrs. Hetty Beatty and also what is now the First M. E. church. In all his studies he had the active sympathy and co-operation of his father, and his future prospects were bright. Suddenly like a clap of thunder from a clear sky all these prospects were blasted. On the evening of December 30, 1827, as Dr. Stanton was entering the front door of his residence he fell dead over the threshold, stricken with apoplexy.

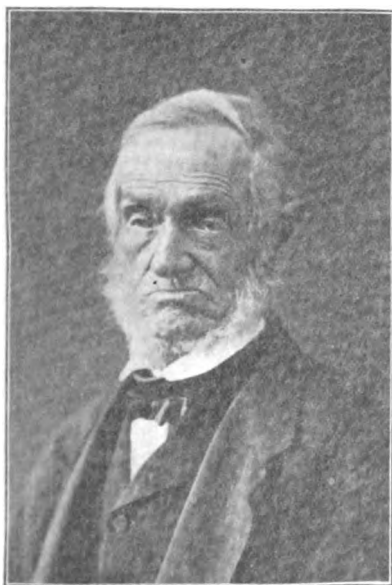
By the aid of his practice Dr. Stanton had no



REV. GEO. BUCHANAN



REV. HEMAN POTTER



JAMES TURNBULL



D. L. COLLIER

2. BIRTHPLACE, SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

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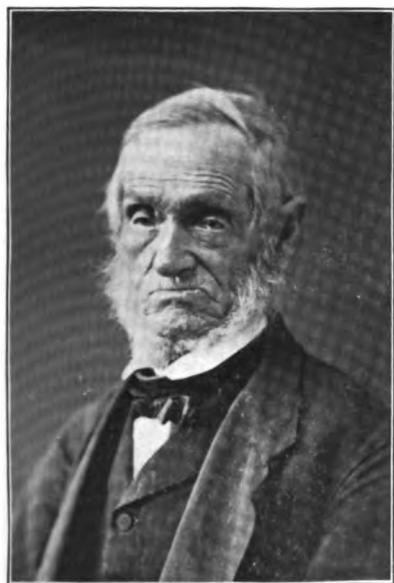
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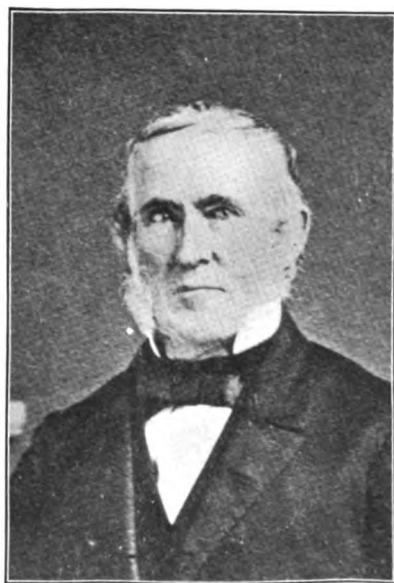
REV. GEO. BUCHANAN



REV. HEMAN DYER



JAMES TURNBULL



D. L. COLLIER

TO VINI
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doubt paid for his home and made a living for his growing family but that was practically all. At his death his assets consisted of his house, a goodly collection of bad debts and a small stock of medicines. With this his widow and four small children had to confront the world. She tried the experiment of opening a small store in the front room of her building, and Edwin M., the eldest boy, was glad to assist his mother about her store and otherwise. A few months later he secured a place in the bookstore of James Turnbull on Market street, the same room being now occupied by the latter's son-in-law, Captain John F. Oliver, at a salary of fifty dollars for the first year, seventy-five for the second, and one hundred for the third. While these amounts were small yet in the then little town where living was cheap they contributed materially towards the support of the family. He did not neglect his studies, preparing himself to enter Kenyon College, which was his steadfast aim, under the tutelage of Rev. Dr. Buchanan. He was an omnivorous reader, and the only complaint made against him during this period was that he would rather read than wait on customers. He organized a small circulating library, charging the beneficiaries ten cents per term for the use of the books, and also did some work in buying material for the local paper mill conducted by Mr. Turnbull, so he evidently earned his salary as well as gained considerable business experience, which like that of Alexander Hamilton, his prototype, served him well in after years. Socially he was popular, attending pretty much all the local gatherings, a favorite with

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the gentler sex, universally respected, laying the foundations for a vigorous manhood.

In April, 1831, the way seemed open for Stanton to take a college course. Kenyon College, founded by Bishop Chase in the wilds of Central Ohio in 1826, had already become noted as a seat of learning. The little town of Gambier had grown up around it, and its students represented nearly every State in the Union. There was quite a large proportion from the South, a fact, which, had an important bearing on Stanton's future political career. It is not probable that much had been saved out of his meagre earnings, but his guardian, Daniel L. Collier agreed to advance some funds, and the apprenticeship in the Turnbull Book Store was severed. Of course staging was the only overland method of travel in those days; turn-pikes were unknown, and travel in the spring of the year certainly was not a pleasure. In addition young Stanton was a sufferer from asthma, which remained with him all his life, and this detained him two days en route at Wooster. However, he reached Gambier all right and entered the college Freshman Class, for which his classical studies had well qualified him. That fall he entered the Sophomore, and the next year in due course the Junior class. There is a little discrepancy as to his exact time of leaving College. Mr. Flower, who is quite specific says that in August, 1832, his guardian, D. L. Collier, wrote to Stanton that it seemed necessary to suspend the college course for a year or two in order to earn something to improve the financial situation at home. Mrs. Stanton's effort at carrying on a little store was not much more successful than that of Hepsibah Pyncheon in

her old house of seven gables, and the family was in straitened circumstances. So, according to Mr. Flower, Stanton left Kenyon College on September 7, 1832, "for a year or two," but never to return. As stated he was then in his junior year and stood high in classics, mathematics, political economy, history and chemistry, giving the assurance that had he remained to graduate he would doubtless have stood at the head of his class. Short as his term at Kenyon had been it marked a turning point in his career in more ways than one. To quote from Mr. Flower:

"Some of the controlling influences and most enduring friendships of his life came from Kenyon. There the doctrines of the Episcopal Church, in which he died, took root; there he sent his son Edwin L., who, in 1863, graduated with the highest honors in the history of the institution; thither he often returned with affectionate interest, and from its graduates and tutors he chose some of the most confidential and trusted advisers of his later career."

But these are not all, and, perhaps in the view of many, not the chief of the incidents of Stanton's Gambier career which influenced his after life. As has been previously related the ancestors of Stanton were abolitionists, and the atmosphere of his father's home was that of freedom for all men without distinction of race or color. In the Presidential contest between Adams and Jackson in 1824-5 Dr. Stanton was an ardent advocate of the former and it is safe to presume that his son, then in his early political days of 1828, was still in accord with his deceased father's ideas. When he returned from Gambier, however his views had apparently changed, and as one of his boy-

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hood associates sorrowfully expressed it "he went over to Jackson," and until he took his seat in Lincoln's cabinet was conspicuous as an uncompromising Democrat. What had caused this revolution? To understand it we must glance at the political history of the country during the first half century of its existence as a Nation. While Washington was chosen President for two terms practically without organized opposition, and what was then known as the Federal party dominated the country, yet as might be supposed it was not long until differing policies, to say nothing of personal ambitions, were certain to crystalize into rival organizations. The slavery question did not assume an acute form at that time, in fact there is no doubt but that the leading satesmen at least, both of the northern and southern states, looked forward to its peaceful and gradual extinction, and hence care was taken in the formation of the Constitution to ignore it as far as possible and avoid any reference to it in express terms. But the questions of tariff and State sovereignty, to say nothing of the black Banquo itself were bound to come to the front sooner or later, and some of them came pretty soon. Thomas Jefferson was Washington's first appointment as Secretary of State, and employed his time so vigorously towards fomenting opposition to the measures of the Administration that his position became untenable, and on December 31, 1793, he resigned his position and was succeeded by Edmund Randolph. Washington declining a third term John Adams was nominated by the Federalists, and Jefferson by the new party calling itself Democratic-Republican, but commonly known at that

time by the latter name. Adams received 71 electoral votes only one more than was necessary to a choice. He was the last Federal President, and the Electoral vote of 1800 showing a tie between Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the choice fell to the House of Representatives, where by advice of Hamilton the Federals generally refrained from voting, thus allowing Jefferson to be chosen, he being regarded as a lesser evil than Burr. James Madison, who from an original Federalist had veered into the opposite camp, followed in 1809, and was succeeded by James Monroe in 1817, he having received 183 Electoral votes to 34 for King, the Federal candidate. He was re-elected in 1820, without opposition during what was caused the "era of good feeling." The Federal party was dead, and the so-called Democratic-Republican organization apparently had everything its own way. Of course this state of things could not last. Factional differences, had there been no other, would soon have troubled these waters whose seeming quiet was only on the surface. The country was growing. During Monroe's first administration five new states were admitted into the Union, and the dreams of the fathers that slavery as a burning question would die out for lack of fuel were rudely disturbed. On March 6, 1818, Missouri demanded admission as a slave state, startling even Mr. Jefferson "like a fire bell in the night." By the ordinance of 1787 slavery was forever forbidden in all that part of the United States north and west of the Ohio river, but Missouri coming in later as part of the Louisiana purchase was claimed to be exempt from its provisions. Finally after debating the matter for two years Congress

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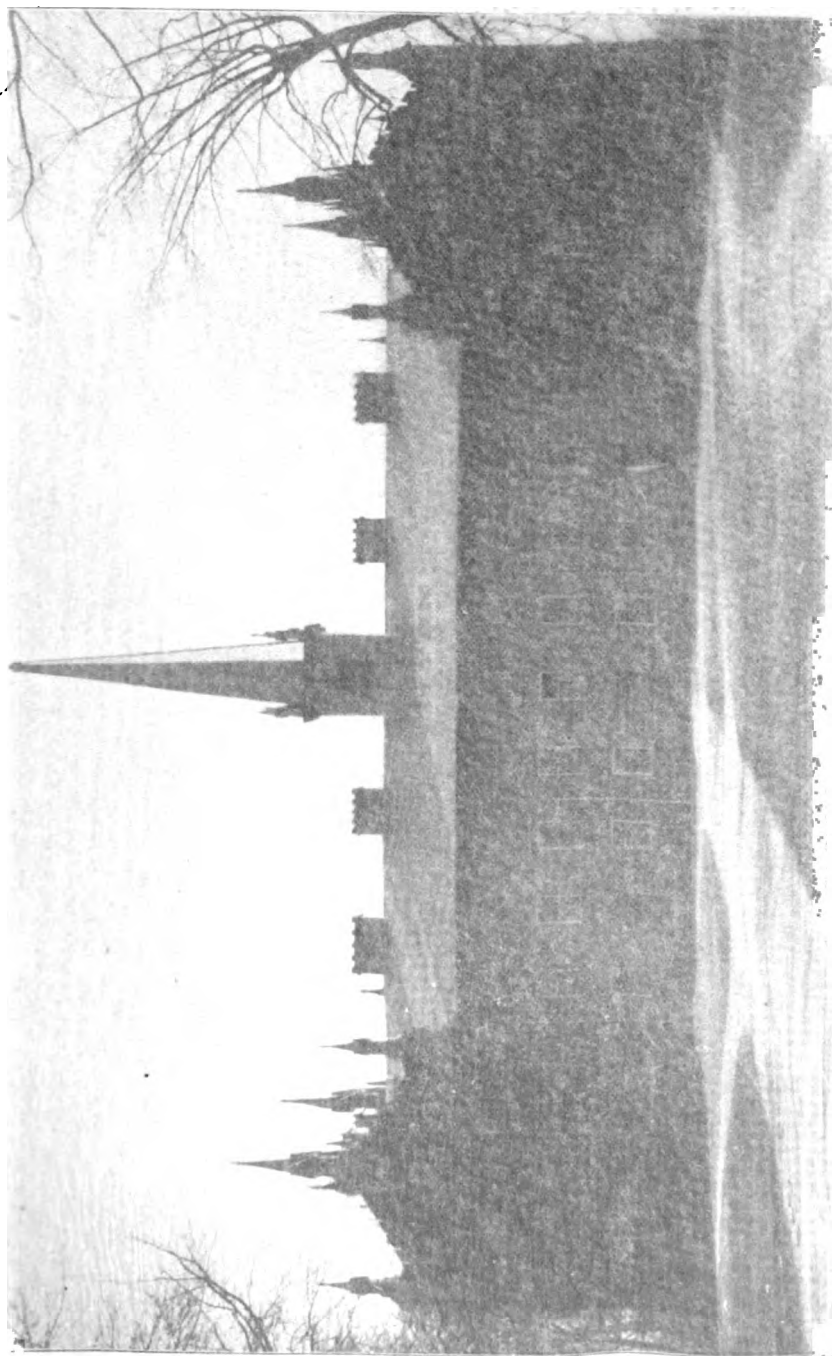
admitted Missouri as a slave state but with the provision that the remainder of the Louisiana purchase north of latitude 36:30 or north of the mouth of the Ohio should be free. But the seeds of trouble were sown, and while there was as yet no well organized opposition party yet the election of 1824 gave Andrew Jackson 99 Electoral votes, John Quincy Adams 84, Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia 41, and Henry Clay 37. The House of Representatives was called upon for the second time to chose a President, and the choice lay between Adams and Jackson. Clay threw the weight of his influence to Adams and he was chosen, but Jackson's triumph came four years later, and he was easily re-elected in 1832. Now why was it that young Stanton "went over to Jackson," as remarked by James Gallagher, an old friend, and remained long with the political party that Jackson represented? In the first place in spite of Jefferson's expressed opinion that Jackson was "one of the most unfit men I know of for the place," there was much in the character of "Rough and Ready" to appeal to the enthusiasm of the rising generation and especially aspiring young men. The echoes of the battle of New Orleans had hardly died away, he was an exponent of the virility of the growing west; if wrong in some respects (and it must be confessed that his faults were not venial,) yet he had unbounded push and energy. He "did things," while much of the opposition to him was purely negative. But there was one reason above all others which made him the central figure just while Stanton at his most impressionable age was in college. The storm which raged around the tariff of 1828 did not die out during the succeed-

ing four years, but on the contrary increased in vigor, reaching its culmination in the South Carolina nullification acts of 1832. For a while the Union seemed in danger of dissolution, and all that summer and fall the campaign raged with peculiar violence. Calhoun and Jackson represented the opposite extreme, and whenever their respective followers met there was excitement if not trouble. At that time there were many students from the South at Gambier, and probably not in Congress itself were the lines more tightly drawn. Jackson and the Union became synonymous terms, as did Calhoun, nullification and secession. Could it be doubted, which side our subject would take? Even slavery had to take a back seat. On this matter a fellow student, S. A. Bronson in a letter to Mrs. Pamphyla Wolcott, Mr. Stanton's sister, says: We had been through a miniature division of the Union in our literary society in Kenyon College. We had come to a point where the South would not admit a member from the North, nor the North a Southern member, so we split and made two societies. When I met Stanton at Columbus (some years afterwards) there was a Southern gentleman in the office. Stanton took me to him, introduced me as a student from Kenyon, saying "Here is Father Bronson. We fought the South together at Kenyon and whipped." In a subsequent letter Mr. Bronson says: "The cause of the strife was the growing hostility between the North and the South." Commenting on these facts Mr. Gorham in his history, says: "It was upon the question of nullification that Stanton and his fellows had fought the South at Kenyon, and whipped." When, therefore, the proclamation

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of "the Old Hero" came thundering over the land, if any one of them could have hesitated for a moment about "going over to Jackson" from whatever attitude previous circumstances, traditions, predilections, or family ties might have placed him, that one would not have been Edwin M. Stanton. Burning with patriotic enthusiasm, he turned his back upon the state and personal politics of 1824, to be forever enlisted in the cause of the Union and the maintenance of its rightful authority. He learned no better lesson at Kenyon than this. It was good training for the boy who in his manhood was to raise and equip the armies by which the heroes of nullification and secession should forever be silenced in the land. Had his father lived, he would have had reason to rejoice that he had a son who at eighteen possessed individuality enough to break away from the dry rot of old political traditions and rise to the stature of a patriotic citizen in time of danger."

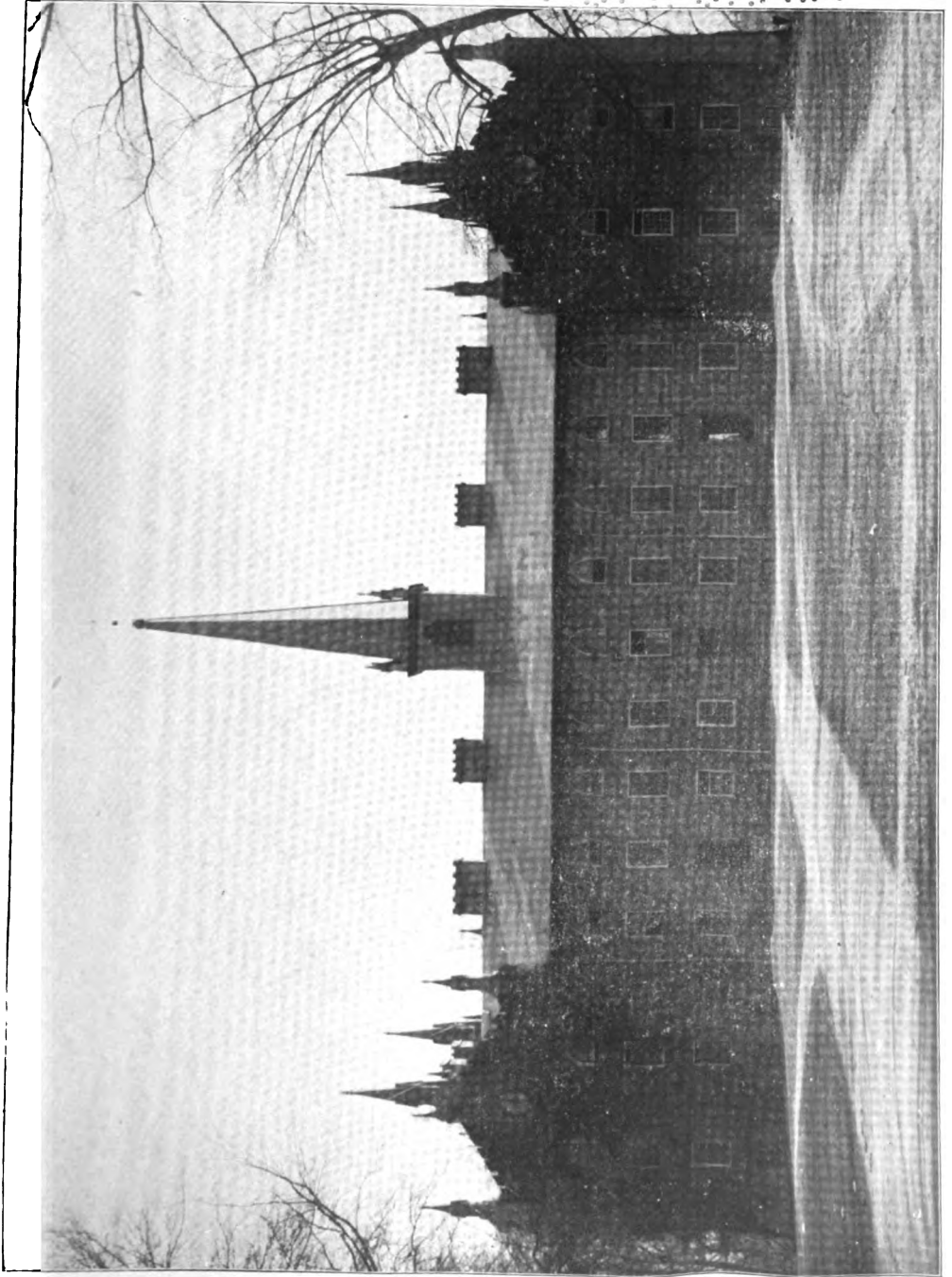
\The formative period in a person's life is in many respects its most important period, and this fact is sufficient apology for devoting the above space to Mr. Stanton's career at college.\ It is gratifying to know that his memory has been perpetuated by the permanent endowment of a chair of political economy at Kenyon by Andrew Carnegie, in testimony to their former friendship, and that through the liberality of Col. John J. McCook, of New York, there hangs upon one of the college walls a fine oil portrait of the deceased Secretary, painted by C. P. Filson, of Steubenville. Mr. Stanton himself more than once declared: "If I am anything I owe it to Gambier College,"



20 GAMBIER COLLEGE, SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

at Gambier College" came thundering over the land, if there had been a man who could have hesitated for a moment between "loyalty to Jackson" from whatever attitude he might have taken, instances, traditions, predilections, or other considerations might have placed him, that one would have been Edwin M. Stanton. Burning with indignation at the Unionism, he turned his back upon the personal politics of 1824, to be forever absorbed in the cause of the Union and the maintenance of its rightful authority. He learned no better lesson at Kenyon than this. It was good training for the boy whose manhood was to raise and equip the armies by which the heroes of nullification and secessionism should forever be silenced in the land. Had his father lived, he would have had reason to rejoice that he had a son who at eighteen possessed individuality enough to break away from the dry rot of old political traditions and rise to the stature of a patriotic citizen in time of danger."

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KENYON COLLEGE
Stanton's Room at the Right, Bull's Eye Opening on Attic Floor.

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CHAPTER II.

PROFESSIONAL CAREER.

Takes Charge of a Columbus Book Store—Studies Law and is Admitted to the Bar—Marriage—Prosecuting Attorney of Harrison County—Back to Steubenville—Increasing Law Business and Activity in Politics—Free Soil Movement—Important Legal Cases—First Meeting With Lincoln.

His financial affairs were such that in addition to giving up his college course it was necessary for young Stanton to do something towards making a living for the family. Mr. Turnbull at that time had a branch book and stationery store at Columbus, which was placed in charge of his former clerk at a salary of \$250 per year and sleeping room in the store. His predilection for the law and public debates led him to utilize such books as the store contained in this line and also, when his other duties permitted, to attend the meetings of the Legislature, and worship at Trinity Church. This year 1833 was known as cholera year, and a characteristic story is related of Stanton exhuming the body of a young lady who had been suddenly stricken down, to make sure that she had not been buried alive. Having given up the hope of reentering college Stanton desired to remain in Columbus and study law, as he had fallen in love with Miss Mary A. Lamson to whom he was betrothed, but his guardian offered him a home in his house in Steubenville and he came hither. The Stanton home had been broken up, the house being sold on October 31, 1833 to Thomas Wilson for \$1,505, and Mrs. Stanton went for a temporary sojourn with her relatives in Virginia.

Stanton pursued his studies with Mr. Collier until August, 1835, when he went to St. Clairsville to be examined for admission to the bar. He came through successfully, but not being of age he was not formally admitted. However, this did not prevent him from vigorously going to work. A story is related that when trying his first case in court an attorney on the opposite side objected to his appearance on the ground that he had not been formally admitted, when his guardian, who was present, exclaimed: "Your Honor, this young man is as well qualified to practice law as myself or any other attorney of this bar; he has passed the examination, he is the son of a poor widow and should be allowed to go on." The Court said nothing and Stanton went on with his case.

About this time the town of Cadiz in Harrison county presented a good field for legal talent, and on January 1, 1836 Stanton went there and entered into partnership with Chauncey Dewey, a promising attorney and well to do citizen. The new firm prospered, and in the fall of that year Stanton purchased a home, and on December 31 he was married to Miss Lamson at her home in Columbus, the ceremony being performed by Rev. Wm. Preston, brother-in-law of the bride, and rector of Trinity Church. The bridal couple came by sleigh to Steubenville, where they made a visit at the home of Judge Tappan. Before going back to Cadiz the young husband made a journey to Virginia to bring his mother back to Ohio. The Cadiz establishment was a modest one and equipped with furniture from the Steubenville home. Two children were born of this marriage, a son who survived his father a few years, and a daughter who died on September 17, 1841.

As previously related the occurrences of 1832 had tended to unite Stanton with the Jackson party, which had now taken the name of Democratic, and in 1837 he was elected Prosecuting Attorney of Harrison county on that ticket. It is a matter of interest, however, that he retained his anti-slavery convictions.

His practice grew rapidly and many are the anecdotes related of the thoroughness and vigor with which he carried on his work. One instance in particular when he was defending a prisoner charged with poisoning he took some of the drug, to test its effect, and narrowly escaped the fate of the poisoner's victim. But he saved his client.

He remained in Cadiz about three years when his increasing practice, especially along the Ohio river, induced him to return to Steubenville, where, in October, 1838 he had formed a partnership with Benjamin Tappan who, on December 20th following was elected to the United States Senate, receiving 57 votes to 50 for Thomas Ewing, the Whig candidate. The Cadiz partnership was retained for some time longer. On May 14, 1840 he purchased the north half of lot 149 in Steubenville, on the west side of Third street, just north of Washington, on which there was a two-story brick house, for \$800. Here his first daughter, Lucy Lamson Stanton, was born, and here he declared, were passed the happiest hours of his life.

The active political life with which he began his career was continued. He was a delegate to the Democratic Presidential election in Baltimore in 1840 which nominated Van Buren for his second term, and was a leading participant in the campaign of that year. There was still a dispute as to the names of

the two leading political parties. The Van Buren followers claimed to be the simon pure Democrats, which the Harrison people were by no means inclined to allow, but called them Federalists and Locofocos, the latter from the name applied to matches which furnished light for a meeting in Tammany hall, N. Y., when, during a factional quarrel, the gas was turned out. In a local paper dated July 29 of that year is printed correspondence between Stanton and John A. Bingham, in reference to a joint debate, and the matter was referred to a committee consisting of James Means, A. J. Leslie and W. P. Kerlin on behalf of the "Democrats," and Roswell Marsh, James Turnbull and John B. Doyle for the "Democratic-Whigs," but the parties being unable to agree as to details the project fell through. Currency and United States Bank were the live questions that year as well as a protective tariff, and the effects of the panic of 1837 were still marked in the stringency of the times. Personal feelings ran high and disturbances were frequent, sometimes rising to the dignity of a riot. On one occasion the Whigs and Democrats appointed mass meetings in Steubenville for the same day. Stanton, who was anti-bank, had a large amount of notes of the wrecked "Bank of Steubenville," which had been controlled by the Whigs. These he pasted on a tombstone in front of his office a short distance from the Court House grounds, in view of a passing Whig procession. This led to a disturbance, in which several persons were injured.

Harrison was swept into the White House by the Whig tidal wave of 1840, and Stanton's biographers agree in declaring that he dropped politics for a time and turned his attention to his profession. But the

lapse was evidently only temporary, for we find him in December, 1841, elected delegate to the Democratic State Convention which assembled in Columbus on January 7, following. He was a member of the committee on resolutions, and the revenue tariff and anti-bank planks of the platform were written by him. He was elected Supreme Court Reporter on March 7, 1842 by the Legislature for the term of three years at a salary of \$300 per annum. Of course his duties here occupied only a fraction of his time, and his work appears in Volumes 11, 12 and 13 of the Ohio Reports. During that same year he went to Brooke county, Virginia, to assist his brother Darwin in a contest to secure a nomination to the Legislature on the Whig ticket, and helped him to an election in a Democratic district. Darwin was reelected the following year on the Democratic ticket.

As early as 1840 Stanton was mentioned for the position of President Judge, corresponding to our present Common Pleas, but on the advice of Senator Tappan declined to consider it.

In 1841 his little daughter Lucy died to the inexpressible grief to the father, who had the remains exhumed about a year after her burial and encased in a hermetically sealed metal casket, and kept in the house until the death of the mother when they were laid in the grave beside her. His grief was mitigated by the birth of a son, Edwin Lamson Stanton, on August 11, 1842, who survived his father.

On January 8, 1844, he was again present as a delegate in the Democratic State Convention at Columbus, where he drafted the usual anti-bank resolution, but did not participate in the "address to the people," which practically favored free trade, a doc-

trine which he declared to be absurd and tending towards direct taxation. This was at least a modification of his views from his resolution of 1842, which favored a revenue tariff. Although Van Buren had been defeated by Harrison in 1840 he was an aspirant for renomination in 1844, and through Mr. Stanton's efforts the Ohio delegates to the National convention were selected in his favor, but this was of no avail as Polk was nominated and elected.

On March 13, of that year another sore affliction befell him in the loss of his wife Mary, who died in childbirth. His increasing practice had warranted a better home, and having arranged to dispose of his existing home he leased the Andrews residence, then as now, one of the most desirable places in the city, located on the corner of Third and Logan streets, and removed his family thither. On April 1 he sold the vacated house to George Brown for \$1,200.

It is unnecessary to detail the manifestations of grief which Mr. Stanton exhibited at the death of his wife, especially as they are given in other publications. Suffice it to say that he ever cherished her memory, and when he visited Steubenville for the last time in September, 1868, he spent an hour alone at her grave, and expressed the wish that when his spirit should take its departure his body might rest beside her in our beautiful cemetery. However, he kept his little family including his mother and infant son together in his new home, devoting himself to his law business and eschewing politics. The partnership between Stanton and Tappan had been dissolved, Geo. W. McCook, a leading citizen, taking the place of the latter. Their office was located on North Third street, three doors north of the Court House, the

building being afterwards enlarged into what is now the Clarendon Hotel. He also had as partners Mr. Peppard at Cadiz, Umbstaetter and Wallace at Lisbon (then New Lisbon), Daniel Peck at St. Clairsville, E. R. Eckley at Carrollton, and others at different points, who had their own local business, but called on Stanton in cases of special importance. This will give an idea of the variety and extent of his practice, which in time was only bounded by the limits of the continent. There are many anecdotes told of incidents in Stanton's law practice during the years between 1840 and 1847, how he cleared one John Gaddis, indicted for murdering his wife, how he carried the celebrated "Pork Case," how he earned and charged a fee of \$5,000 from Mordecai Moore, a wealthy farmer of this county, for saving him from paying a \$10,000 mortgage given to a Pittsburgh bank, how he went to Washington and succeeded in having an indictment against Caleb McNulty, a defaulting Clerk of the House of Representatives dismissed, thus saving Judge Tappan, one of the bondsmen, from financial ruin. These and many others are fully related in Flower's and Gorham's biographies. They are only referred to here as evidence of the indomitable energy, legal acumen and careful research of this young man between his twenty-sixth and thirty-third years. They may have a parallel but considerable research would be required to find it. He proposed going to the Mexican war in 1846 but was advised by his physician that he would not be accepted on account of his asthma.

It is probably unnecessary to say that Mr. Stanton neglected no legal advantage that might inure to the benefit of his client. But that he did

not care to retain a fee where he had any doubt as to the intrinsic merits of a case is demonstrated by an incident in his early practice. William Mansfield, father-in-law of Hon. J. A. Mansfield, was the owner of a grist'mill in Harrison County, and one day hung his coat in an exposed part of the building. In a pocket of the coat was a roll of money amounting to \$200. When he donned his coat the money was missing. There were several persons about the mill, and one of these Mr. Mansfield at least indirectly charged with taking the money. The charge was not proven, however, and the aggrieved party through his attorney, Mr. Stanton, brought an action for slander against Mr. Mansfield, recovering a judgment for \$800. The defendant took the money to Mr. Stanton's office to pay off the claim. The latter told him to pay \$400 and he (Stanton) would give him a receipt for the whole amount. He said he was not sure that Mr. Mansfield was wrong in the matter, and hence he would remit his fee which was one-half the judgment.

Dr. Darwin E. Stanton was assistant clerk of the National House of Representatives in 1846, and in August of that year was taken down with fever. He returned to his home in Brooke county, Va., his residence being a two story brick building on the river bank opposite Steubenville and just above the present Pan Handle railroad bridge. The house was so damaged by the flood of 1884 that it was shortly after torn down. Dr. Stanton's illness became so severe that he lost his reason, and with one of his surgical instruments severed an artery and bled to death in the presence of his family. His brother Edwin was summoned from town but did not arrive until death had done its work. As in his previous family afflictions he be-

came almost insane himself, and wandered off into the woods, where he was recovered and brought back by friends. Dr. Stanton died practically without means, and his brother brought the widow and her three children to the Steubenville house where with his mother, sister and son he gave them a home. Mrs. Dr. Stanton, who was Miss Nancy Hooker, now resides with her only surviving daughter, Mrs. Rev. John Ely, of Cincinnati.

In January, 1847, the Steubenville Council created the office of City Solicitor, and Stanton was the first incumbent. Among the first duties devolving on him was the prosecution of some riotous gangs which had given the town an unsavory reputation. To them he gave them the name of "rats," and announced his determination to exterminate them, which he did, all but the name, which clung to that class of characters in this city for many years.

Although living in the city with his residence surrounded by spacious grounds, Stanton evidently wanted a taste of at least garden if not of farm life, albeit it was on a small scale. Accordingly on October 25th, 1847 he purchased from Thomas McKinney for the sum of \$1,500 a tract of land extending from Dock to Benton street, fronting on the river which he converted into an orchard and garden for the supply of his table. The spot was placed in charge of Alfred Taylor, a skilful gardener, who lived in the main building of the original Beatty & Stillman glasshouse, on the North side of Benton street, which was remodeled into a dwelling when the works were removed to lower Third street. Here were reared some of the finest fruits and vegetables ever produced in this locality, as well as cattle of superior quality. The

place was familiarly called "The Patch," a name which it still retains, although it was laid off in city lots by its subsequent purchasers Joshua Manly and H. G. Garrett, "Grant" and "Stanton" being the intersecting streets.

We come now to another change in Stanton's career. The widening scope of his practice seemed to demand removal to a larger city. Columbus and Pittsburgh were both taken into consideration, and the latter city was decided on mainly because it was accessible by boat to his old home in Steubenville, which he had no intention of giving up. Accordingly he formed a partnership with Charles Shaler, and was admitted to the bar of Allegheny County, Pa., on October 30, 1847. He still retained his office as well as his home in his native town. It is unnecessary to refer particularly to his Pittsburgh practice. He conquered odds and met with success there as he did everywhere else.

Martin Van Buren, who was elected to succeed Jackson in 1836, renominated in 1840 but defeated by Harrison, an aspirant in the Democratic Convention of 1844 but beaten by Polk, had accepted the nomination of the Free Soil party in 1848. Each year the burning question of slavery was becoming more intense, but the regular Democratic and Whig conventions of that year ignored the subject in their platforms. Lewis Cass was the nominee of the former and Zachary Taylor of the latter. Peace had just been concluded with Mexico, and whether the newly acquired territory with that of Oregon should be devoted to slavery or freedom was a matter that divided both Congress and people into two opposing camps. The platform of the Free Soil party declared



OLD COURT HOUSE, STEUBENVILLE



PUBLIC SQUARE, STEUBENVILLE, 1846.



OLD MARKET HOUSE AND COUNCIL CHAMBER, STEUBENVILLE.

PROFESSIONAL CAREER

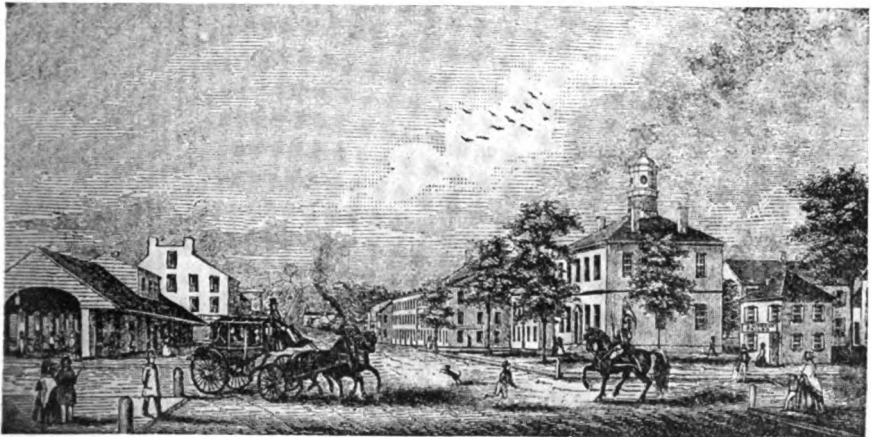
Stanton's law office was called "The Patch," a name which was retained although it was laid off in 1835. His law firm had two permanent purchasers Joshua Manly and John C. Stanton, the latter's name and "Stanton" being the name of the firm.

Stanton's decision to make a change in Stanton's law office was a result of his practice seemed to be declining in that city. Columbus and Steubenville were brought into consideration, and Stanton decided to move to Steubenville mainly because it was nearer to his old home in Steubenville, Ohio. He decided not to give up. Accordingly he moved to Steubenville with Charles Shaler, and continued to practice law in Allegheny County, Pa., until 1841. He still retained his office as a lawyer in Steubenville. It is unnecessary to mention his Pittsburgh practice. He continued to practice with success there as he did in Steubenville.

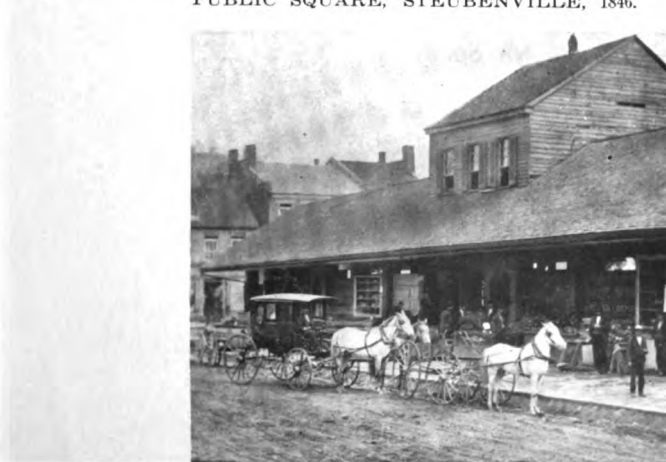
Stanton was elected to succeed William A. R. in 1840 but defeated William A. R. in the Democratic Convention in 1848. Stanton by Polk, had accepted the Free Soil party in 1848. Each party had a question of slavery was becoming more intense. The regular Democratic and Whig conventions of that year ignored the subject in their platforms. Lewis Cass was the nominee of the former and Zachary Taylor of the latter. Peace had just been concluded with Mexico, and whether the newly acquired territory with that of Oregon should be added to slavery or freedom was a matter that divided both Congress and people into two opposing camps. The platform of the Free Soil party declared



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it to be the duty of the Federal government to free itself from all responsibility for the maintenance of slavery wherever its Constitutional powers made it answerable for the existence and continuance of that institution; it demanded the prohibition by a federal law of the extension of slavery into territory then free; and gave to the "demand for more slave states and more slave territory," the calm but final answer: "No more slave states and no more slave territory." Van Buren, as stated, was nominated for the Presidency, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice President. Almost from the establishment of the government the slavery element had been enlarging its demands, for it was recognized at an early period that the institution could not stand still. From the nature of things not necessary to be detailed here, it must expand or die a natural death. The latter was what the fathers of the republic expected, but that expectation was not realized. The adoption of the Missouri compromise seemed for awhile to settle things, but it permanently settled nothing. So long as it served its purpose it was sustained by the pro slavery element, and when it became an obstacle it was summarily swept aside by that same element. But that time had not yet been reached, and while the matter was acrimoniously discussed in Congress and through the country it had not been crystalized into any party platform, if we except the Abolitionists, whose strength was moral rather than political. Whig and Democrat alike feared to take up the hot end of the poker, for both depended for support on the slave states. But the Abolition party, insignificant in numbers, while it had little effect towards creating any desire or intention of interfering with slavery in

the states where it had already existed, by its appeals through the press and in the forum, had very great influence in awakening public conscience to the baleful influence of the evil, resulting in a determination to at least preserve a portion of the country's virgin soil to freedom. Hence the organization of the Free Soil party. Where would Stanton be in this contest? His ancestors were anti slavery, and his father had been a supporter of John Quincy Adams in 1824, and no doubt would have voted for him again in 1828 had he lived. Stanton "went over to Jackson" in 1832 in his youthful enthusiasm and love for the Union; he cast his first vote for Van Buren in 1836, and again voted for him in 1840. He secured a solid Ohio delegation for Van Buren in the Democratic National Convention of 1844, when Polk was the successful nominee. All through these years however he expressed himself as opposed to slavery, and was not in hearty accord with the extreme free trade views of some of the party leaders. Now comes a new party whose principles accorded with his own, and the personnel of whose ticket appealed to him with peculiar force. He did not hesitate, but came out for Van Buren and the free soilers, and shortly after addressed a Van Buren meeting in Steubenville in which he made a severe arraignment of Cass and the Democratic platform. This excited the wrath of the local Democratic leaders to such an extent that they called an impromptu meeting in front of the Court House and denounced their former associate. This however only diverted Stanton's attention to them in such a verbal castigation as they had probably never received before or since. One of their

charges was that he was working in the Whig interest because many of his clients were Whigs. This was hardly worthy of a reply. The defection from Cass to the Free Soilers was sufficient to elect Taylor, the Whig candidate.

About this time Theobald Umbstaetter, of New Lisbon, joined the Pittsburgh law firm, taking charge of the financial end of the business, for which neither of the others seemed fitted. Although their fees were large they accumulated very little. Their office was on Fourth avenue, near Wood street.

Not long after Mr. Stanton opened his office in Pittsburgh a matter arose not only of vital importance to this section of the country but involving a question as to the rights of states or corporations holding under them to interfere with commerce on navigable rivers by means of bridges or other obstructions. As far back as 1816 charters had been granted by the legislatures of Ohio and Virginia for the construction of a bridge over the river at Wheeling, and in 1836 and 1838 Congress was petitioned on the same subject. Notwithstanding the National Pike reached the river at this point and continued through Ohio the effort was unsuccessful. In 1843 the Ohio legislature requested Congress to build the bridge, against which Pennsylvania and especially the Pittsburgh river interests offered a vigorous opposition. Railroads so far as this section was concerned were non-existent. The river was the great highway from Pittsburgh to the west and southwest. The floating palaces with their upper decks crowded with passengers and their holds and lower decks crammed with freight had almost reached their zenith in capacity,

elegance and speed. The state of Pennsylvania had completed a canal from tidewater at Philadelphia to the forks of the Ohio at Pittsburgh and had supplemented it by a partially constructed railway, but west of that the river was the only practicable outlet. It is easily imagined then the feeling that would be excited by even a partial obstruction to river traffic. So when it was learned that on March 14, 1847, the state of Virginia had granted a new charter to the bridge company and that work had actually begun on a structure which it was believed would make Wheeling the head of the navigation on the Ohio river, there was a feeling something like dismay. The contract for the bridge was let the following September, but the structure was still uncompleted when Mr. Stanton, with other attorneys, gave notice on July 28, 1849, in the Circuit Court of the United States, Justice Grier, of the Supreme Court presiding, that a motion for an injunction would be made on behalf of the State of Pennsylvania against the Wheeling and Belmont Bridge Co., to restrain further operations and to abate the bridge as a nuisance. The main points were, first: That the act of the Virginia Legislature reviving the charter provided that if the bridge be erected in such manner as to obstruct navigation such obstruction should be treated as a public nuisance and abated accordingly. Second, that steamboats were accustomed to navigate the river requiring a space of eighty feet above the water surface, and that the flood of 1832 was 44 1-2 feet above low water level, the usual spring floods being 35 feet, and that the bridge was to be only 93 1-2 feet above low water level at its eastern end and 62 feet

at the west end. The loss to the Pennsylvania canals from the Delaware and Lake Erie to the Ohio river was also urged. Mr. Stanton is said to have been indefatigable in the preparation of this case, gathering statistics of river travel, testing fuel and chimneys to show that it was necessary to have flues eighty feet high in order to make steam for the fast packets, and that such chimneys could not be lowered without delay, as well as considerable danger. Captain Charles W. Batchelor, also a native of Steubenville, commanded the *Hibernia* No. 2, one of the largest and fastest packets of that day, and it is related that while carrying on his investigations Stanton took passage on this boat down the river. On reaching the Wheeling bridge he directed the Captain not to attempt to lower the chimneys. As he anticipated they struck the bridge and came down with a crash, considerably damaging the upper works of the steamer. Congress at that time had not attempted to regulate river traffic and bridges to the extent since assumed. The defendants pleaded the sovereignty of Virginia and that the complainants had their remedy, if any, in the courts of that state, that the average height of spring floods did not much exceed twenty-nine feet, that for all useful purposes the height of steamboat chimneys need not exceed forty-seven feet above the water and could have hinges; that the bridge over the canal at Louisville was only fifty-six feet, and that this bridge would not be an appreciable inconvenience to boats of the average class. It was predicted by many that Mr. Stanton and his case would be laughed out of court. But Justice Grier took a different view, and in deference to the importance of

the matter and the new questions involved transferred the case to the Supreme Court.

In the meantime the Virginia Legislature had passed an enabling act declaring the bridge as constructed to be of lawful height and in conformity with the intent and meaning of the act of March 19, 1847. This brought the question of State sovereignty squarely to the front.

While gathering material for his presentation of this case during the fall of 1849 Mr. Stanton had the misfortune to fall down the hatchway of the steamer Isaac Newton, at Pittsburgh, and received a compound fracture of the knee from which he never recovered. He was brought to his home in Steubenville where he lay for several weeks. But he had all necessary books and papers brought to his house, and fully digested this case as well as attending to his other business, so he was ready when the case was reached on the calendar at the January term, 1850, of the Supreme Court. Having been formally admitted to the bar of that tribunal on February 24, he made a powerful argument in support of his motion. Mr. Stanton was completely victorious in every position which he took, and as a consequence the only question remaining was whether the bridge was a nuisance and obstruction as claimed. To ascertain the facts the Court on May 29 appointed Hon. R. H. Walworth, formerly Chancellor of the State of New York, Commissioner to take evidence and report the same to the next term of court. Additional time being necessary the matter was extended to the December term, 1851, when the Commissioner presented a voluminous report of some 700 pages, sustaining Mr. Stanton on

every point both of law and evidence. The Court in May, 1852, affirmed his conclusions and directed that the bridge be elevated to a height of 111 feet above low water mark for a stretch of 300 feet. The court had declared for the freedom of the river, Virginia statutes to the contrary. The alterations were ordered to be made on or before February 1, 1853, but in the meantime the bridge people took a new tack and brought sufficient influence to bear upon Congress to induce that body to pass an act on August 31, 1852. declaring the bridge a post road as it then stood. Thus all the labor went for nothing, and the height of this bridge has remained a standard for all subsequent bridges over the Ohio. The proceedings which we have given above in condensed form cover 123 pages in three volumes of Howard's 9, 11 and 13 U. S. Supreme Court reports, thus indicating the importance and magnitude of the matter. It is an interesting circumstance that shortly after the enabling act of Congress was passed, a storm destroyed the original bridge, which gave Stanton the opportunity of remarking what Providence thought of it, but its successor was erected in the same position, and still stands, or rather hangs.

About this time Mr. Stanton was engaged in another interesting case whose full history will be found from pages 9 to 23 of Pennsylvania State reports, and which illustrates the curiosities of rail-roading in that State as late as 1852. The Pennsylvania Canal Commissioners under authority of the State had built a railroad from Columbia in Lancaster county to West Philadelphia. From Columbia the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mountjoy and Lancaster

railroad, whose name seems nearly as long as its tracks, extended westward to the state capital, where it connected with the Pennsylvania Railroad for Pittsburgh, the last named company also having terminal facilities in Philadelphia. The charter of the P. R. R. authorized it in certain contingency to connect with the Columbia railroad, but the summary of the case naively states that "The Pennsylvania Railroad was never extended eastward beyond Harrisburg." The P. R. R. Co. desiring to operate through cars from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh made suitable traffic arrangements with the road from Columbia to Harrisburg, but could not come to an agreement with the Canal Commissioners to haul its cars over the Columbia and West Philadelphia road. Hence it brought suit to compel the Commissioners to haul its cars. Mr. Stanton was attorney for the defense, and when the case was heard in the Supreme Court the Commissioners were sustained. Jeremiah S. Black was the presiding judge, and we shall read of him again in connection with Mr. Stanton. Both, however, lived to see the day when the P. R. R. ran its cars through to Philadelphia, and the connecting roads were only so many undistinguishable links in a great chain.

In another important railroad case involving a change of gauge at Erie, Pa., so as to permit a uniform gauge between Buffalo and Cleveland the Supreme Court sustained the local authorities who were interested in having a break at that city, and decided against Mr. Stanton's clients, and the State Legislature revoked their franchises. But he did not give up, and by threatening to carry the matter to the

United States Supreme Court, he compelled the state authorities to back down, and cars have ever since run unvexed from Buffalo to Cleveland. This case occupies 40 pages of the Pennsylvania State reports.

These are representative cases showing the character of Mr. Stanton's practice at this time, and we shall refer to one more not only because of its national importance but because it was in the trial of this case at Cincinnati that Edwin M. Stanton and Abraham Lincoln met for the first time. This was known as the McCormick reaper case. As early as 1831 Cyrus H. McCormick invented a machine to be drawn by horses intended to supersede the old hand scythe in cutting grain. He set up a working model on his father's plantation in Rockbridge county, Va., and took out patents for the machine and its improvements in 1845 and 1847 with a reissue in 1853. He had several suits in defense of his patent claims, one of which was a New York case decided by the Supreme Court of the U. S. on collateral points in his favor in 1856. Messrs. Stanton and Harding were on the opposite side of that case. But the most serious opposition was from John H. Manny, of Wisconsin, who about 1850 turned out a machine embracing essential features of the McCormick reaper, especially curved divides at the end of the cutter bar to separate the grain stalks as they fell. This was the crux of the whole affair, and as the opening of the western prairies to settlement was creating unlimited possibilities for the future every step in the progress of the case was fought with the best legal talent the country could command. Of course suit was brought for infringement of the patents, and the case was set

for hearing at Cincinnati in September, 1855. Messrs. Watson and Stanton, of Pittsburgh, and Harding, of Philadelphia, appeared for McCormick, and Beverly Johnson and E. N. Dickerson on the other side. To the McCormick force had been added Abraham Lincoln. It was arranged that two attorneys should speak on each side, and Stanton and Harding were chosen for McCormick, much to Mr. Lincoln's disappointment, who, however remained to the close of the case, and unqualifiedly commended Mr. Stanton's speech. The decree was in favor of Stanton's side, and the case was appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. In this connection Mr. Flower relates a curious story bearing on the final decision in the case. As we have said the curved divider was the crux of the whole matter the machine being practically useless without it, but that feature was covered by McCormick's patents. One Col. Wood, who had made Manny's models knew that, so one day he went down into Virginia and procured an old McCormick reaper, made prior to the issue of McCormick's patent on the divider. He purchased it and made the rod straight, for a curved divider would not be an infringement on this. Using salt and vinegar to rust over the fresh marks of the blacksmith, he shipped the doctored reaper to Washington to be used on the final hearing. Stanton was ignorant of the fraud but when he saw this machine he had no further doubt of winning the case. The final hearing came before the Supreme Bench in February, 1858, and although the attorneys were limited to an hour each for argument, the court took such deep interest in Stanton's address that he was allowed his own time to complete it. The

decision was in favor of Stanton's clients, Manny himself having died, Justice Daniel dissenting, and as will now be conceded, correctly.

We have referred to this case as the first meeting of Stanton and Lincoln. When the attorneys came together at the Burnett House in Cincinnati for consultation Stanton was not favorably impressed with the long, lanky, not to say, uncouth attorney from Illinois, and did not hesitate to make his contempt apparent, and during the progress of the case, in court and out, he appeared to be highly appreciative of Mr. Lincoln's blue cotton umbrella, and his ill-fitting garments. He curtly ruled him out from arguing the case, but, as we have said, this did not prevent Mr. Lincoln from remaining and listening to the suit, after which he gave Stanton his full meed of praise. But shortly before the final submission of the case, Mr. Lincoln called at the room of their associated counsel, one of whom is authority for this additional history not hitherto published, and said to him: "You must have noticed that Mr. Stanton is determined that I shall not make an argument in this case. I think I should have the courage to insist upon doing so if I were satisfied that the interests of our clients required it. I think however, that they do not for the reason that I have here reduced to writing the substance of all that I would say, and possibly, it is better said here."

This gentleman read the argument and concluded that it was the most masterful review and condensation of the whole case that was possible, and passed it up to the court with the other papers. He says, that according to his recollection of the paper it

contained the bones and sinews of the opinion of the court delivered in this case. In March, 1861, this same gentleman was in Washington City on professional business and was stopping at Willard's hotel. When Mr. Lincoln came there to be inaugurated he hesitated about calling on him lest it might bring back unpleasant recollections of the Cincinnati episode. He had about concluded not to call, when he received a note from Mr. Lincoln, who had in some way learned that he was at the hotel, inviting him to his room. When he arrived there he had a conversation with Mr. Lincoln, who addressed him substantially as follows: "I am about to do that for which I seem to owe an explanation to all the people of the United States. I can make it to no one but you. Mr. Stanton, as you know, has been serving conspicuously in the cabinet of Mr. Buchanan, faithful among the faithless. There is a common appreciation of his ability and fidelity, and a common expectation that I will take him into my cabinet, but you know that I could not possibly, consistently with my self respect, pursue that course in view of his personal treatment of me at Cincinnati." About a year later this same attorney met Mr. Lincoln in Washington, when the latter said to him: "I am about to do an act for which I owe no explanation to any man, woman or child in the United States except you. You know the War Department has demonstrated the great necessity for a Secretary of Mr. Stanton's great ability, and I have made up my mind to sit down on all my pride, it may be a portion of my self respect, and appoint him to the place."

Lincoln never showed his real greatness more

forcibly than on this occasion when a smaller or less disinterested man would have fallen. And Stanton's ability never received a better or nobler recognition. Attempts have been made at times to exalt one of these two men at the expense of the other. This is futile as well as ungracious. Each had his sphere and his line of duty, and each was greatest in that sphere. It is safe to say that Lincoln could not have filled Stanton's place, and at that time it is more than doubtful if Stanton could have filled Lincoln's. Each was the complement of the other, and none realized this fact better than the two great minds which worked so faithfully together during the dark days of the Civil War. The country honors both, and any respect and affection shown to the memory of one is no derogation to the memory of the other.

CHAPTER III.

A WONDERFUL WORK—SECESSION CLOUDS.

A Quiet Period—Remarriage—Washington Home—The Great California Cases—Enormous Service Rendered—Lincoln's Election—Secession Movements—The Coming Storm—Buchanan's Weakness—Attorney General—Improved Tone in National Councils—The Government Upheld.

After his support of the Free Soil ticket in 1848 Stanton seems to have remained very quiet so far as politics were concerned. It was an era of compromises. Slavery was demanding more and more under threats of dissolving the Union, and both the Whig and Democratic organizations were truckling to it more or less. Although he was in Washington during the sessions of the Democratic convention which nominated Franklin Pierce at Baltimore in 1852 he did not attend it, but returned home as soon as his business was completed. General Scott was the Whig nominee, and his overwhelming defeat marked the overthrow of the Whig party. A new political party was beginning to develop, but as yet it was attracting little or no attention from the politicians. During these years Mr. Stanton devoted himself to his law business, but when James Buchanan, a personal friend, was nominated by the Democrats in 1856 he warmly supported him. He doubtless regarded the Republicans as simply his old enemies, the Whigs, masquerading under a new name, and if he failed to realize then that they represented a new

and potent force, it was not surprising, because scarcely anybody else realized it.

On June 25, 1856 Mr. Stanton and Miss Ella, daughter of Lewis Hutchinson, of Pittsburgh, were married by Dr. Theodore Lyman, rector of Trinity Church, he being at that time in his 42d year and the bride in her 26th. They leased a house in Washington on C street, N. W., the nature and extent of Mr. Stanton's business requiring his presence most of the time at the capital.

It will be remembered that Jeremiah S. Black, was Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court when Stanton was before that body in the early railroad cases, and was greatly impressed with Mr. Stanton's ability as a lawyer. Consequently when, in 1857, he was appointed Attorney General in Buchanan's Cabinet, and needed assistance in the important cases in which the Government was then engaged he naturally turned to Stanton for help. Judge Black was conceded to be one of the first attorneys in the country, but was also an intense partisan which afterwards led him into what might mildly be called some inconsistencies. The great work now before Stanton was the settlement of the California land troubles, especially what was known as the Limantour case, probably the most stupendous fraud ever attempted to be perpetrated on this or any other government.

The treaty with Mexico made at the close of the war in 1848 provided that "grants of land made by Mexico in the ceded territories" should "preserve the legal value which they may possess, and the grantees may cause their legitimate titles to be acknowledged before the American tribunals." In 1851 a Board of

Land Commissioners was created by Congress before which claimants might prove their titles with the right of appeal by either party to the U. S. Courts. The Board adjourned on March 1, 1856, having passed on 803 claims covering 19,148 square miles including the sites of San Francisco, Sacramento and other cities, affirming most of the titles, but some of the claims were so outrageous that appeals were taken by the Government to the U. S. District Court for California, and there they were pending when Black was appointed Attorney General on March 6, 1857. The leading claimant was one J. Y. Limantour, a French merchant of Monterey, who filed eight claims covering 958 square miles. Six of these covering 924 miles were rejected by the Board, and two embracing 34 miles were confirmed. In these tracts were the city of San Francisco and islands inside and outside the bay, in fact pretty much every thing in sight. Even then the value of the property ran up into the millions, and had the scheme been successful Limantour and his descendants would have been rich beyond the dreams of avarice. The modern Pacific coast lumber thief is very modest in comparison. Naturally there was great public clamor against what was considered a gigantic robbery, but the claimants appeared to have documentary and other proof necessary to sustain their position. But during the month of May, 1857 one Augustus Jouan, came to Washington and made certain revelations to the Government officials demonstrating that the claim was simply a tremendous forgery in which he was an accomplice. He was sent back to San Francisco to report to the District Attorney. It was evident that a great legal battle was on hand, which

would require the best brains available. Mr. Black turned to Stanton in this emergency and On February 21, 1858, a few days after his final argument in the famous reaper case, he sailed from New York for San Francisco via Panama, accompanied by his son Edwin. His vessel was the "Star of the West" which became historic three years later, as drawing the first shot from the rebel batteries in Charleston harbor while carrying supplies to the beleaguered garrison in Fort Sumter. He arrived at San Francisco on Friday morning, March 19, and at once entered upon his Herculean tasks. The first step was to collect the archives of the territory under Mexican rule, which were voluminous in quantity, but which had never been collected and classified. Many were in the hands of private parties, and a special act of Congress was found necessary to compel their production. It was successfully accomplished, and the four hundred volumes so collected remain a monument of his untiring energy. In these archives were recorded the grants made by the Mexican government and the reason or consideration therefor. Among them was the documentary chain of title to the lands claimed by Limantour, apparently complete, the alleged consideration being advances in money and goods furnished the Mexican government. It was apparently invincible, but it is not necessary here to relate the details of the system of forgery and perjury on which it rested, and the patience and accuracy with which every phase was exposed. The story will be found fully related in Mr. Gorham's work. Suffice it to say that when Mr. Stanton was through the expose was so complete that Limantour's attorneys threw up the case, judg-

ment was given in favor of the Government, Limantour was indicted, and fled the country never to return.

Another noted case of that period was the "New Almaden" silver mine, yielding \$1,000,000 a year, wherein the title was shown to be fraudulent, which was taken to the Supreme Court and reached a final decision in 1863.

These are only striking samples among many smaller cases, upwards of twenty-one of which were afterwards argued by Mr. Stanton before the Supreme Court. Not only was there a direct saving of millions of dollars to the Government and people but a settlement for all time of the complicated land titles of California. The value of the work was simply inestimable. For this he received a fee of \$25,000 and expenses.

It is related that after winning these cases many miners, whose entire possessions were involved in the outcome, brought bags of gold dust and nuggets to Mr. Stanton's office and begged him to accept them as a free will offering. He refused them all, stating that the Government would pay him for his services, and he could not accept any other compensation.

Mr. Stanton arrived home from California in February, 1859, having been absent a little less than a year. He had been home but a few days when, on Sunday, February 27, the country was startled by a social tragedy, the shooting of Philip Barton Key, son of Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star Spangled Banner," by Daniel E. Sickles. Key was a widower, and had seduced the young wife of Sickles, and at the time of the tragedy was standing in front of the Sickles residence presumably for the purpose

of meeting Mrs. Sickles. Sickles was indicted for murder, and the trial, which lasted three weeks, was replete with exciting incidents. Stanton was engaged for the defense, and his speech in summing up the case was a masterpiece of legal and forensic eloquence that has seldom if ever been surpassed. He did not take his position on the so-called unwritten law which constitutes an aggrieved husband into a judge, jury and executioner, but upon the old common law doctrine of self defense, and the right of the husband to slay an adulterer detected in the commission of his crime. We have only space for a couple of brief extracts:

By the American law, the husband is always present by his wife, his arm is always by her side; and his wing is ever over her. The consent of the wife cannot in any degree affect the question of the adulterer's guilt, and if he be slain by the husband then, it is justifiable homicide. * * The husband beholds him in the very act of withdrawing his wife from his roof, from his presence, from his arm, from his wing, from his nest, meets him in the act and slays him. And we say the right to slay him stands on the firmest principles of self defense.

Sickles was acquitted, the jury being out only an hour, and the verdict met with general approval. He afterwards took his wife back to his home, and a son born to him by his second wife was named Stanton Sickles.

All of the year 1859 was a busy one but Mr. Stanton found time to attend to his home matters. On May 5 he purchased from Eliphalet F. Andrews the property on the corner of Third and Logan streets, Steubenville, which he had long held under lease for the sum of \$3,000. The place was then occupied by his mother, the widow and children of

his brother Darwin, and his sister Oella. It was his expressed wish that he might return to pass the evening of life there, and there to die. This wish was not realized and on June 22, 1870, his widow and executors sold the house and grounds to Dr. Enoch Pearce for \$7,500, who still occupies them with his family.

In October of that same year Mr. Stanton purchased a lot fronting on what is now Franklin Square in Washington, for \$5,880, and with the assistance of money received through his wife erected a large brick and stone residence which he occupied until his death.

As stated above Mr. Stanton had been a warm supporter of James Buchanan in the campaign of 1856, as well as of his Kansas-Nebraska policy in the two years following. According to Judge Black he held the Abolitionists responsible for preventing the settlement of the slavery question there, by failing to vote on the Lecompton constitution. He was not a voter in 1860, being a resident of Washington, and took no active part in the Presidential campaign of that year. Not counting "Sam Houston and his old Indian blanket" there were four tickets in the field: Lincoln and Hamlin representing the Republicans, Douglas and Johnson for "squatter sovereignty" the regular Democratic nominees, Breckenridge and Lane, extreme State rights party and pro-slavery, and "Bell and Everett," representing in somewhat vague terms the "Union and the Constitution." His personal preference was for Breckinridge, but he appears to have also leaned towards Douglas, whose election might prove a golden mean to avert the disunion which was openly threatened if Lincoln should

be successful. That the election of Lincoln was a foregone conclusion was apparent to Mr. Stanton as well as other political observers of that year. This opinion was expressed in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Wolcott as well as to others, with the belief that great dissensions would follow. The expected happened. Lincoln received 180 votes in the Electoral College to 72 for Breckenridge, 12 for Douglas and 39 for Bell, receiving a clear majority of the Electoral but only a plurality of the popular vote. The storm, whose mutterings had been heard for months, was not long coming. The election was held on November 6, and in anticipation of the result the South Carolina Legislature had been called in special session the day before. On the day after the election in the United States District Court room at Charleston the foreman of the Grand Jury, speaking for himself and fellow jurors, declined to proceed with their work because the hope of the perpetuity of the Federal government had been swept away "by the verdict of the Northern section of the Confederacy, solemnly announced to the country through the ballot box on yesterday." A. G. Magrath, the presiding judge, thereupon arose and in a bombastic speech resigned his office, followed by the District Attorney and Marshal. After this theatrical performance, which was also intended to cripple the Government from a legal point of view, events moved rapidly. A bill was prepared and rushed through the Legislature calling a convention on December 17. The convention met at Columbia, the capital of the state, on the day fixed, but owing to the prevalence of an epidemic disease adjourned to Charleston, in consequence of which the passage of the secession ordinance was delayed

(?) until December 20. This was followed by similar action by Mississippi on January 9, Florida on the 10th, Alabama on the 11th, Georgia on the 18th, and Louisiana on the 26th. Delegates from these six states assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, adopted a Constitution on the 8th, and the next day elected Jefferson Davis President of the new Southern Confederacy, and Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President. These officers were inaugurated on February 18, subordinate officers appointed and the wheels of a fully developed provisional government set in motion. Everything moved along like clock work. Preparations were made for the organization of an army and navy, and the seizure of Government forts, arsenals and public buildings went merrily on. The laws of the United States were suspended, although the postal service was allowed to continue as a matter of manifest public convenience. Texas had passed her ordinance of secession on February 1, but as it had to undergo the rather useless form of submission to a vote of the people on the 23d that state was not represented at the Montgomery convention. Virginia Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina did not formally secede until after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, but while a strong Union sentiment existed in all these states, there was little doubt as to the action of those in control of affairs. So when Lincoln was inaugurated on March 4, 1861, the flag of the Union only floated over two places in the states openly in revolt except at the lower end of the Florida Keys, where there was no temptation to attack it, and it had practically disappeared from most of the territory where the final leap was yet to be made.

During these four months when the nationality which had been built up with so much care, and preserved through the storms and stress of three quarters of a century, was apparently in the throes of dissolution what were the constituted authorities at Washington doing to arrest the threatened disintegration? When James Buchanan was nominated and elected President in 1856 he had made a creditable, though not a marked record in public affairs. He had been a Representative from Pennsylvania ten years from 1821 to 1831, Minister to Russia two years, Senator twelve years, Secretary of State four years, making in all a prominent public career of twenty-eight years. Possibly it would be putting it too strong to say that in all that period he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one, but it is a fact that he was better known by his urbanity, pleasing manners and correct deportment than for any striking act. Von Holst, the able German writer of our constitutional history, notes the fact that at the well provided table and the chatty tea, Buchanan was a stimulating and winning talker, adding that, "the person who saw in him a great statesman must have been either a very bad physiognomist or have had a very unclear idea as to what the requirements of a statesman are. * * * *

Weakness, self-overestimation and wilfulness—a more disastrous combination of qualities could, under existing circumstances, be scarcely imagined." Nobody at this time questions Buchanan's personal integrity or loyalty, but he had never been called upon before to meet a great crisis, and when the test came he signally failed. That the failure was no

worse was due to the fact that he finally called into his counsels the subject of this biography.

We have already referred to the activity of South Carolina and other Southern States in the direction of separation and preparation for armed resistance should the same be necessary, and in this they were not wanting in assistance from the President's own political household. The Cabinet at this time was composed of Lewis Cass, of Michigan, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; J. Toucey, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; A. V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster General; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War; Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney General; not a bad distribution geographically, but, as events proved, composed of little material calculated to interfere with the plans of the Union wreckers. Muskets were even sold from the arsenal at Harper's Ferry to be used against the Government.

The country was in a feverish state of expectation waiting for the opening of Congress and the annual Presidential message. How would the latter meet the emergency? That South Carolina would attempt to secede in a few days was a foregone conclusion. Could the crisis be firmly met, and the spread of the conflagration checked, or would it be allowed to extend beyond control? The President was not idle. He had not the mind which enabled him to penetrate to the heart of things, but was very careful that he should do nothing which should hurt the feelings of the malcontents, or cause them to raise the question of legality. So as early as November 17, he called upon the Attorney General for a

legal opinion on the situation. The first question proposed was whether a military force could be used within the limits of a State where there were no judges (U. S.) marshals or other civil officers. Mr. Black's reply three days later was that it could not. The *reductio ad absurdum* of this proposition is that when any state wished to block the operations of the National Government it was only necessary to induce the court officers to resign or expel them from the country, and there being no machinery of the law to put in operation it simply stopped. Later the Supreme Court of the U. S. effectually punctured this bubble by the declaration that "when the regular course of justice is interrupted by revolt, rebellion or insurrection, so that the courts of justice cannot be kept open, civil war exists, and hostilities may be prosecuted on the same footing as if those opposing the Government were foreign enemies invading the land." Judge Black also discussed the question as to "whether Congress has the constitutional right to make war against one or more states," and came to the conclusion that it had not. Carrying this sophistry still further he concluded that hostilities carried on against a state would be *ipso facto* an expulsion of such state from the Union, suggesting that in such event "will not all the federal states be absolved from their obligations?" In other words the slightest military effort on the part of the Government for its own preservation and the perpetuity of the Union, would have the inevitable effect of destroying that Union. One would have supposed this written opinion would have been sufficient to satisfy the most ultra secessionists, but there being differences in the Cabinet there was evident fear that

the President might not after all officially enunciate the doctrine that the only real power the Government possessed was to either decently or indecently commit hari kari. Cass had threatened to resign if secession ideas were to prevail, and Stanton, who had been appointed Assistant Attorney General prepared an argument showing that the United States IS a Nation. The fire eaters became alarmed, and, presumably during the absence of Stanton on some business in Pittsburgh, telegraphed to Jefferson Davis, then in consultation with his Governor at Jackson, Miss., to come immediately to Washington. The telegram was from two members of the Cabinet, and Mr. Davis says: "On arrival at Washington, I found, as had been anticipated, that my presence there was desired on account of the influence which it was supposed I might exercise with the President in relation to his forthcoming message to Congress. On paying my respects to the President, he told me that he had finished the rough draft of his message, but that it was still open to revision and amendment, and that he would like to read it to me. He did so, and very kindly accepted all the modifications which I suggested." The nature of those suggestions can easily be guessed from the man who, even long after the war was over, in a book intended to be a vindication of himself and his followers, declared and repeatedly avowed the principle "that a Senator in Congress occupied the position of an ambassador from the state which he represented to the Government of the United States as well as in some sense a member of the Government." (Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government P. 202.)

Mr. Rhodes in his history commends Judge Black's position at this time because he declared that the President might collect customs duties from a revenue cutter in the harbor if denied access to the custom house, a self-evident truth which he overlays with ten printed pages of verbosity to the effect that "The Union must utterly perish at the moment when Congress shall arm one part of the people against another for any purpose beyond that of merely protecting the General Government in the exercise of its proper constitutional functions," said "constitutional functions" having already been whittled away to the vanishing point.

On December 3, the message appeared, and between the efforts of Black and Davis it was certainly a unique state paper. From it one would imagine that the loyal citizens of the country were the ones who were responsible for the condition of affairs. They were charged with fomenting servile insurrection with all its imaginable as well as unimaginable atrocities, and the President actually declared that the Southern states would be "justified in revolutionary resistance to the government of the Union," unless certain laws passed by some of the Northern states mainly to prevent the kidnapping of free negroes to be sold as slaves, were repealed. This was not all, agitation, that is free discussion, must be suppressed as the price of National existence. After this introduction, which could not have been bettered by Jefferson Davis himself, he proceeded to the legal and constitutional side of the question as it had been elucidated by Judge Black. He could not officially recognize South Carolina as an indepen-

dent nation without authority from Congress, but was careful to inform that body that it had no power "to coerce a state into submission which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy." When the contents of this astounding document were flashed across the country no wonder the spontaneous cry went up, "Oh for one hour of Jackson." Fortunately a disciple of Jackson was soon to come to the front to stay the hand that was hastening disintegration until a greater than Jackson should take the helm of State, and piercing through the fogs of state sovereignty, proclaim the sovereignty of the people of the whole Nation, and that the supreme law of the land should be enforced, any action of individual states or state governments to the contrary notwithstanding.

The South Carolina authorities were very anxious that no effort should be made to re-inforce the Union garrison at Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor, the one solitary place in the state where the National flag still floated. All they wanted was to be let alone to carry out their projects. In this they were ably seconded by Mr. Trescott, Assistant Secretary of State, aided by Floyd, Cobb and Thompson. On December 8 Cobb resigned, and in fact the tension was becoming so strong that a breakup of the Cabinet was imminent. Cass resigned on the 11th because the President would not reinforce Fort Moultrie, and was temporarily succeeded by Trescott. As the secession of South Carolina would make him a "foreigner" his resignation was accepted, and on the 17th, Judge Black took the office. As one of the curious incidents of that period, Thompson, the Sec-

retary of the Navy made a visit to North Carolina to urge the secession of that State. On December 20 South Carolina declared the Union dissolved, and on that day Edwin M. Stanton was appointed Attorney General to succeed Black, and entered upon his duties a week later.

Judge Black has claimed the credit of urging the appointment of Mr. Stanton to the office of Attorney General. There is no disposition to question the correctness of this claim, although Mr. Stanton was a personal friend of the President, and quite as well known to him as to any member of the Cabinet. It has also been authoritatively stated that when Buchanan was at a loss to find a man to succeed Judge Black as Attorney General, Col. George W. McCook, a member of the convention which nominated Buchanan for the Presidency, suggested Mr. Stanton for the place, and the suggestion was at once approved. Judge Black, in a letter written in 1870, after Mr. Stanton's death, declared that Stanton indorsed his opinion of November 20, "in extravagant terms of approbation, and adhered steadily to the doctrines of the annual message." There is not a scintilla of evidence to support such an assertion, in fact the whole tenor of Stanton's life in speech, writing or action, from his youthful contests with the nullifiers of 1832 to the day of his death was directly contrary to such a supposition. But from a "private memorandum" given by Mr. Black to the President early in December, but not made public by him until 1881, it appears that he had experienced such a change of heart that he could truthfully declare that he and Mr. Stanton were in

“perfect accord on all questions whether of law or policy.” It is so exactly opposite to his first opinion that no apology is needed for its reproduction :

The Union is necessarily perpetual. No state can lawfully withdraw or be expelled from it. The federal constitution is as much a part of the constitution of every state as if it had been textually inserted therein. The federal government is sovereign within its own sphere, and acts directly upon the individual citizens of every state. Within these limits its coercive power is ample to defend itself, its laws and its property. It can suppress insurrections, fight battles, conquer armies, disperse hostile combinations, and punish any or all of its enemies. It can meet, repel, and subdue all those who rise against it.

A more vigorous presentation of the powers of the General Government or more concise yet complete summary of those powers has probably never been presented. When we compare it with the shuffling, quibbling, hesitating document of a few weeks previous we are struck not only by the change of sentiment but the different way in which it is expressed. Should the higher critics a thousand years hence accidentally resurrect these two papers or copies of them from the archives of the musty past they will doubtless have little hesitancy in reaching the conclusion that both could not have been written by the same person. And should they happen to come across other papers written by another person who occupied a prominent position about that time, they will at least do some pretty strong guessing as to who was the real author. However, this may be it was evident that both the President and Judge Black had become anxious over the effect of the annual message. It was thought that vigorous

denunciation of "Northern Agitation" and anti-coercion sop to the South would tide over matters at least until Mr. Buchanan's term of office expired, and then might come the deluge. Just the opposite occurred. The disunionists were encouraged to rush matters to a conclusion while they were protected at headquarters, while there was a rising tide of indignation in the loyal sections. Neither Buchanan nor Black wished the government to go to pieces on his hands, and, to put it plainly, both wanted a strong mind to help them out of the muddle. There was furthermore the spectre of impeachment. In the emergency they turned to Stanton.

In the meantime South Carolina had seceded and sent a commission to Washington to treat for the surrender of the forts in Charleston harbor. These Commissioners were to meet the President on the afternoon of the 27th, and on that morning the country was startled by the announcement that Major Anderson, in command at Fort Moultrie had spiked his guns during the night and transferred his little garrison to a stronger position in Fort Sumter. Union men rejoiced, and the secessionists were correspondingly indignant, and among the most indignant was Floyd, Secretary of War. The Commission headed by Jefferson Davis, called on the President, who seems to have completely broken down and declared that the movement was "not only without but against my orders. It is against my policy." It has been demonstrated that Major Anderson did not act contrary to orders in his movement, but if he had he would have been considered justified under the circumstances. The demand was that the President

order Anderson back to Fort Moultrie, but this was too much even for him, and he said he must call his Cabinet together. Jefferson Davis in his account of the affair naively remarks: "My opinion was that the wisest and best course would be to withdraw the garrisons altogether from the harbor of Charleston." At the Cabinet meeting which followed Floyd was rabid, and demanded that the garrison be at once withdrawn from Sumter, in accordance with what he claimed was a pledge from the President. The latter was hesitating and uncertain, and after a contest of three days Floyd resigned. His resignation had been demanded several days before on account of fraudulent practices discovered in his department, but he was allowed to remain until it became evident to him that he could no longer do his friends any good. Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who had succeeded Brown as Postmaster General was made Secretary of War, leaving First Assistant Horatio King in charge of the postoffice. For three days the Cabinet discussions continued, the President still hesitating whether or not he should order Anderson back to Fort Moultrie, and was only deterred by the threat of Stanton, Holt and Black to resign if anything of the kind were done. Stanton was particularly emphatic, denouncing such an act as a crime only equalled by the treason of Arnold, to which Buchanan raised his hand deprecatingly, exclaiming "Oh, no! Not so bad as that, my friend, not so bad as that!" Stanton and Black embodied their objections to the President's proposed reply to the South Carolina Commissioners in a memorandum of seven paragraphs of which all except the second and fourth were written by Stan-

ton. The first is a point blank denial of the right of secession, and hence there should be no recognition of the commissioners in the character of diplomatic ministers or agents, the third embraces a peremptory refusal to negotiate about the possession of a military post belonging to the United States or any arrangement about it. The fifth denies any previous bargain or pledge by the President. The sixth is a strong indorsement of Major Anderson, and the seventh demands the reinforcement of Fort Sumter with the least possible delay. The second and fourth paragraphs by Judge Black suggest the striking out of expressions of regret at the unwillingness of the Commissioners to proceed with the negotiations and a sentence in regard to coercion. These sections although sound on the main question read very differently from Stanton's incisive points, and their literary composition reminds one more of the November opinion than the December one previously quoted. The President did not follow the instructions of the memorandum, but was indecisive as usual, and this brought from the commissioners a letter so insulting that he declined to receive it, thus ending this miserable business. The documentary history of this Cabinet crisis is voluminous and is given quite fully by Gorham, pages 127-159, and Flower 82-95. The letter of the President to the Commissioners and their reply of January 2, occupy three columns of the New York Tribune of January 8, 1861, and are too lengthy to reproduce here. The Commissioners concluded by the statement that they proposed returning to Charleston the following morning, January 3, so that each side as it were got in a parting shot.

The outcome of this whole affair was that the President finally made up his mind that Fort Sumter must be reinforced, and General Scott, chartering the California packet *Star of the West*, by authority of Secretary Holt, put 250 soldiers aboard, and started her for Charleston. The failure of the expedition is well known. Any chance of success it might have had was frustrated by Thompson, who was then writing his resignation as Secretary of the Navy, sending a telegram to Charleston that the troops were under way. Newly erected batteries on Morris island guarded the harbor, whose guns speedily caused the steamer to retreat. Major Anderson had not been informed of the effort, and before he realized the situation sufficiently to accomplish anything it was too late. He properly regarded the firing on the steamer as an act of war, but refrained from hostilities until he could hear from Washington. This action was approved, and supplies and reinforcements promised which were never sent. The Cabinet by this time was composed of Black, John A. Dix, of New York, (Treasury), Holt, Toucey (Navy), Stanton and King. The moving spirit of the whole was Stanton, and this is generally conceded. He talked, wrote and acted, arousing public sentiment and thwarting conspiracies. It was perhaps too much to expect that the closing administration should take any radical step towards restoring the authority of the Government in the revolted sections, and the revolutionists while they were busily engaged in seizing all unprotected national property, were not anxious to assume the responsibility of actually commencing hostilities, especially as each day was

making them stronger from a military point of view. Washington was full of conspirators, and rumors of plots were thicker than the plots themselves. Southern leaders held a meeting and urged the immediate secession of all the slave states and the formation of a provisional government, which, as we have seen was carried out by seven of them, while their friends remained in Washington to hamper the government and expose its plans. It was proposed to seize the capital itself and prevent the inauguration of Lincoln, and February 15, the date fixed for counting the Electoral votes was set as the day. Even Stanton was apprehensive that the city might be captured, but determined that this should not happen if he could prevent it. It was a theory that should Maryland secede this action would also include the District of Columbia, which had formerly composed a part of that State and what had once been the capital of the Nation would be the capital of the new Confederacy. The President sent another message to Congress on January 28 with the old quibbles about his duty "to defend and protect the public property within the seceding states so far as practicable," although Stanton with Black, Holt and Dix objected to the last qualification. But the point had been reached where Presidential messages had little effect one way or the other.

Of course there was plenty of talk during this period, of proposed constitutional amendments, irrevocable, protecting slavery in the states where it existed. As is well known the Republican platform upon which Mr. Lincoln was elected did not contemplate any outside interference with the "pecu-

liar institution" in any state, but did object to its extension into the territories. An out and out Abolitionist was as a rule almost as unpopular in the North as in the South, and Jefferson Davis himself in his "Rise and Fall of the Southern Confederacy" declares that fear of Northern aggrandizement was the real cause of the rebellion, although his declarations to this effect do not carry much weight. In order to remove the least excuse for rebellion and to go as far as possible towards assuring the Southern people that there would be no attack upon any of their constitutional rights public meetings were held at various places, and among others at Stanton's old home, Steubenville, Ohio, on January 15. As illustrative of the length to which the loyal people of the country were willing to go in order to restore harmony we copy a report of that meeting from the "True American" newspaper of January 23. Col. James Collier was appointed Chairman, and Dr. Worthington, John Sheridan and David Donovan, Secretaries. The proceedings were opened with prayer by J. K. Andrews. The following gentlemen were elected Vice Presidents: Thomas L. Jewett, James Gallagher, Alexander Doyle, James McKinney, William Kilgore, James Sterling, W. S. Bates, Thompson Hanna, H. G. Garrett, A. J. Beatty, James Parks, Benjamin Linton, Joseph B. Peters, John W. Gray and Henry Beall. The following gentlemen, John H. Miller, George Webster, Lewis Anderson, Joseph Means, Richard Harris and W. R. Allison, having been appointed Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

Whereas, The present state of our beloved country

is such as to awaken the most intense anxiety and alarm for its peace and safety, and

Whereas, It is due to our officers in every department of the Federal Government, that the people from whom emanate all just government and laws, should make known to them in this perilous hour freely and fully their wishes and sentiment, therefore

Resolved, That as citizens of Ohio, discarding all party feelings and passions, we here declare our unchanging attachment to the perpetual union of the states, our firm reliance upon the Constitution of our country, as the bond of union, and the faithful enforcement of the laws in pursuance thereof, without which the one cannot be maintained or the other preserved.

Resolved, That in a spirit of concession and compromise we approve and recommend the proposition known as the Border State Compromise, which we understand to be to the following purport, viz:

1. Recommending a repeal of all state laws interfering with, and impairing the efficiency of the Fugitive Slave Law.

2. That the Fugitive Slave Law be amended for the preventing of kidnapping and so as to provide for the equalization of the commissioner's fees.

3. That the Constitution be so amended as to prohibit any interference with slavery in any of the states where it now exists.

4. That Congress shall not abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and the consent of the inhabitants of the District nor without compensation.

5. That Congress shall not interfere with the inter-state slave trade.

6. That there shall be a perpetual prohibition of the African slave trade.

7. That the line of 36 deg. 30 min. shall be run through all the existing territory of the United States; that in all north of that line, slavery shall be prohibited; and that south of that line neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature shall hereafter pass any law abolishing, prohibiting, or in any manner interfering with African slavery; and that when any territory containing a sufficient population for one member of Congress

in any area of 60,000 square miles, shall apply for admission as a state, it shall be admitted with or without slavery as its constitution may determine.

Resolved, That we earnestly request our Senators and Representative in Congress to favor the immediate adoption of these propositions.

Resolved, That the Union-loving citizens of those states who have labored and still labor with devotion, courage and patriotism, to withhold their states from the vortex of secession, are entitled to the admiration and gratitude of the whole American people.

Resolved, That we cordially approve the recent special message of President Buchanan, and that his constitutional obligations imposed upon him the necessity for the enforcement of the laws, North and South, and whenever necessary the employment of the Army and Navy to this end.

Resolved, That the patriotic conduct of Major Anderson in taking the responsibility of removing his command from an untenable position to Fort Sumter, both being the property of the Government, deserves our warmest commendation.

On motion of Col. George W. McCook the report was received, and after a short and harmonious discussion, the resolutions were adopted with great enthusiasm by an overwhelming majority. Three cheers were given with a will for Edwin M. Stanton, for Major Anderson and the Union.

While many Republicans were ready to accept the 36 degree 30 minute resolution for the sake of peace it was most distasteful to many others, and the same newspaper from which the above account is taken vigorously denounced it. Lincoln was willing to accept everything except this, but insisted on standing on his platform of no extension of slavery into the territories.

A copy of these resolutions was sent by John F. Oliver to Stanton who received them with approval

declaring in his reply that "If the resolutions of your meeting were sanctioned by the Republican party in Congress, I think that the troubles that now disturb and endanger the country would speedily be removed." In this Mr. Stanton was mistaken, as the result proved. The body politic was too sick to be cured with that kind of panacea even if it had ever been available. A resolution to amend the Constitution so as to forever prevent Congress from interfering with slavery in any state was passed in both houses of Congress by large majorities; but it had no effect whatever in staying the course of events. Even the 36:30 line was ignored when Dakota, Nevada and Colorado were organized as territories without any restriction as to slavery. There was but one cry on the part of patriots, "Save the Union," and it was not until the stern logic of events forced upon the country the conviction that unless slavery was destroyed it would destroy the Government, that old Abolitionists, Conservative Republicans and loyal Democrats became a unit in the conviction that it must go.

As it was evident Fort Sumter could not be reinforced with either men or provisions without a fight attention was diverted to Fort Pickens at Pensacola, where the U. S. steamer Brooklyn arrived February 6 with a company of artillery, but an order from the President through Secretaries Holt and Toucey prevented them from landing. Stanton protested against this order, but Buchanan was still too much under Southern influence to rescind it.

There was another significant incident about this time. General Sickles, who in the earlier Congressional debates had opposed the use of force to

preserve the Union, but who soon viewed the situation differently, (shall we say through the influence of his friend Stanton?) had offered a resolution in the House of Representatives, which was adopted, providing for a celebration of Washington's birthday. Secretary of War Holt and General Scott concluded to have a military parade so far as their slender resources would permit, both on account of its propriety and for moral effect. The necessary orders were issued on February 21st, but in the meantime the conspirators had heard of it, and brought such pressure to bear on President Buchanan that at 8 o'clock that night he sent for Holt and requested him to revoke the orders. There was nothing to do but comply, but when the crowds gathered the next morning to see the parade the action became public, causing great indignation. Gen. Sickles rushed to the War office, where he found the President and Secretary, and forcibly urged that the original plan be carried out as far as possible. The President weakened, and such of the troops as could be assembled under the belated order paraded in the afternoon and were reviewed by the President and loyal members of the Cabinet. Buchanan afterwards wrote to Mr. Tyler, who was leader of the protesters, "excusing himself for changing his mind and his orders, and apologizing for having permitted the army and navy to carry the flag of the Union through the streets of the national capital on Washington's birthday."

When Stanton received intelligence that the so-called Confederate government was to be inaugurated on February 8, he called upon the President to stop

it, but the latter responded "It is now too late." Stanton replied, "It is never too late to save the country," and urged that the performance at Montgomery was only a prelude to what might happen at Washington. Indeed there were rebel leaders who were predicting the same thing. But in one sense Buchanan was right, he had tied his hands, declared the Federal government was impotent, and was in no position to interfere with the proceedings at Montgomery even had he so desired. But he did not so desire, not because he was disloyal, but because he shrank from the responsibility of any act which might bring on a war; his term was nearly out and he would leave his successor to face the crisis. Stanton insisted that Congress be called upon to take measures at least for National defense but nothing was done, and the days drifted on with rumors of war and the country in suspense until the 4th of March ushered in a new Administration.

CHAPTER IV.

BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT.

Lincoln's Inauguration—Precautions of Stanton and Scott—Impatience with the Administration—Fall of Fort Sumter ..and Call for Troops—"On to Richmond" and Battle of Bull Run—McClellan's First Meeting With Stanton—Former Supersedes Scott—Dinners—Drilling and Delay—Remarkable Correspondence.

Thanks to the foresight of Stanton, ably seconded by General Scott, the apprehensions that there would be turmoil attending the canvass of the Electoral vote or the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln were not realized. There was indeed little danger of a formal movement on the capital while Maryland and Virginia remained in the Union, as according to their own doctrines it would be illegal for the managers of the Confederate government to invade a "Sovereign State." But there was plenty of material in both the states named to have formed irregular organizations, which, with the aid of the large disloyal element in the city, would have been in position to cause serious trouble, had it not been for the precautions referred to. And there were not wanting men even in Congress to protest against bringing even these few hundred troops to Washington as calculated to wound Southern susceptibilities. Lincoln's inaugural address was conciliatory and conservative but firm. He would maintain the Constitution as it was and enforce the fugitive slave law in

good faith, but held "that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these states is perpetual. No state upon its own mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; resolves, and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and acts of violence within any state or states, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. * *

To the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the National authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imports, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. * * The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union." The mail service was in fact continued throughout the South until May 27 following.

Lincoln's original Cabinet was composed of Wm. H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, War; Gideon Welles, Connecticut, Navy; Caleb B. Smith, Indiana, Interior; Edward Bates, Missouri, Attorney General, and Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster General. In ability and force of character it certainly fell short of the Cabinet which had just retired, notwithstanding the prominence of Seward and Chase.

What would the new Administration do? That was what the country was waiting to see. The inaugural programme was very plain, but carrying it out was another matter. The situation was entirely different from what it was when Buchanan sent his December message to Congress, and was considering whether he should reinforce Major Anderson. The work that could then have been done by a few hundred men would now need as many thousands, and had the men been at the disposal of the Government, no available vessels could have run the batteries now encircling Charleston harbor and garrisoned by thousands of troops. General Scott gave it as his opinion from a military point of view that the reinforcement of Fort Sumter was impracticable and the effort could only result in bloodshed and defeat, with the responsibility of inaugurating civil war. Major Anderson had written "that I would not be willing to risk my reputation on an attempt to throw reinforcements into this harbor within the time for our relief rendered necessary by the limited supply of our provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than twenty thousand good well disciplined men." In place of irregular proceedings in one state there was now a fully organized *de facto* government whose authority was acknowledged in seven states; with all the machinery for taxation and other governmental functions in operation, and which had already provided for raising an army of 100,000 men for offensive and defensive purposes. The border states including Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Missouri had not

seceded, and there appeared to be a preponderance of Union sentiment in all of them, but in several of them at least this statement needed qualification. While Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas undoubtedly preferred remaining in the Union as it had been with the other Southern states, yet the leaders at least were determined to cast their lot with their brethren farther south, and on no account permit an army to march across their territory to sustain the rights of the government. Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri talked "neutrality" which soon disappeared under the exigencies of the times. Against all this combination the President had with him an empty treasury, an insignificant navy and some 12,000 or 15,000 available soldiers. To make a decided move under these circumstances was to invite disaster, and instead of restoring the authority of the Government, Washington itself would have been lost, the President a fugitive, and the Southern Confederacy with its headquarters in the National Capitol would have been recognized by the powers of the world, and dictated terms of peace to what was left of the Union. True there were the Northern States with their great resources, whose people would not permit the Union to be broken up if they could help it. But those resources were utterly useless until put in shape to be made available. China is a country of immense population and illimitable resources, and although the Government was not as badly off as that of China, yet the reference shows at once the difference between naked resources and their immediate availability. A single misstep would have thrown all the border states into the Southern Confederacy, and it was far from certain

that the Northern people would be a unit. Stephen A. Douglass, Mr. Lincoln's leading opponent had come nobly to the front in support of the Administration, but would the million and a third voters who had supported him follow their leader? Differences of opinion prevailed everywhere in the North. Even Union Democrats were slow in making advances towards the Republicans not knowing how they would be received, while others openly declared that they would have nothing to do with a "Republican war." Some local elections indicated a falling off in the Republican vote, which was taken as evidence of a lack of sympathy, and Republicans were too often suspicious of their new allies. There were factions in the Cabinet and out of it, and the country was very far from measuring Lincoln's own greatness. So far the impression had not been very favorable to the long, lank, homely man from the West, and Illinois was pretty far west in those days. His stories were quoted and his serious declarations forgotten. He knew the virtue of patient waiting, but the public looked upon it as a sign of weakness and indecision. Washington City was apparently composed of one half rebels and the other half office-seekers. The new Confederacy was sending a commission to arrange for the evacuation of Fort Sumter and other terms of settlement, just as South Carolina had done three months before, and seemed to have been encouraged by at least one member of the Cabinet. In fact when it was evident that Fort Sumter could not be reinforced its evacuation was openly discussed. As a strategic point it was worthless any way, and could be taken in a few hours, but from a political and moral point of view it represent-

ed the sole assertion of National sovereignty (with the exception of Fort Pickens and Key West) within the limits of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It might be taken by force, but to haul down the flag and abandon it without a struggle would encourage the revolt and make the Nation contemptible in the eyes of the world. Lincoln had no clear headed thinker and resolute character like Stanton at his elbow on which to lean, but he worked out the problem himself and worked it out rightly as the result proved, in the meantime making an effort to provision the fort.

Mr. Stanton in the meantime had resumed his law practice in Washington, but kept a close eye on public events. He had promised to keep his friend Buchanan posted as to the course of events in Washington. He was naturally disgusted with much that he saw, the hordes of officeseekers, the open boasts of the Secessionists and the apparent vacillation of the Administration. To a person of his energetic and decisive nature the last was doubtless the greatest evil of all, and he does not hesitate to criticise and denounce the men who were running the Government from Lincoln down. It is not necessary to quote from his letters at this time as they are easily accessible in several publications. He has been severely censured for these letters which were private communications, but without just cause. The same censure was coming from others of every shade of politics, and it did seem to many as though the ship of state was being allowed to drift on the rocks through the supineness of its officers. The time arrived when Mr. Stanton, like thousands of his countrymen came

to have a very different estimate of Lincoln, from what they then expressed.

The bombardment of Fort Sumter began at 4:30 A. M. on April 12, and when the people of the United States sat down to breakfast on that morning they knew that the last peaceful argument had ended. Henceforth it was to be an appeal to arms. Stanton, writing to Buchanan on that day, said: "We have the war upon us. The telegraphic news of this morning you will have seen before this reaches you. The impression here is held by many, 1st, that the efforts to reinforce will be a failure; 2d, that in less than twenty-four hours from this time Anderson will have surrendered; 3d, that in less than thirty days Davis will be in possession of Washington." Mr. Stanton was correct in his statements that these were the impressions of the Washington public, and the first two were substantially right, while the third was a misguess, although had the Confederates possessed an organized army convenient, they could have captured the capital in spite of the small garrison of regulars collected there.

Maj. Anderson had already informed the Charleston authorities that his provisions would not last longer than the 15th, and that he would surrender on that day, unless relief or contrary orders arrived, and the question naturally arises why did not the besiegers wait and thus peacefully gain their end? Jefferson Davis says in his book that it was the fear of reinforcements, and it was known that vessels were on their way to Charleston, which arrived about the time the bombardment began. But it was also known that no vessel then owned by the Government could run the gauntlet of the batteries of Charleston harbor,

and peaceful provisioning was the utmost that could be accomplished. But doubts were arising in the South as to the wisdom of the secession movement, especially in view of the conciliatory position of the Government. President Lincoln's waiting policy, although criticised even by Republicans was having some effect, and there were signs of a reaction. Something was needed to crystalize the South and bring the waverers into line. "Strike a blow," said Roger A. Pryor, who was then in Charleston, and Virginia will be in the Southern Confederacy in less than an hour." The blow was struck, and the bombardment continued until Sunday afternoon the 14th inst. when Major Anderson and his little garrison surrendered. Charleston gave itself up to wild enthusiasm, which infected all the seceded states. But while the conspirators were bent on consolidating the South, they had not counted on consolidating the North. The President at once issued his call for 75,000 troops, which was greeted by such an outburst of patriotism as the world has never seen. For the time being all political differences were forgotten. Mr. Buchanan wrote from his home at Wheatland, Pa.: "The North will sustain the Administration almost to a man." Douglass traveled from one city to another, addressing enormous crowds, intense loyalty pointing every utterance, and volunteers came faster than they could be handled. For the time being at least there were no Republicans or Democrats, but all were for the Union. The Union sentiment by this time had been so far overcome in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas that these states were forced into the Southern Confeder-

acy, although there was strong opposition in all of them, especially in the mountain regions. The effort to drag Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri in the same direction signally failed; there never was any hesitancy in Delaware. Fernando Wood, Mayor of New York City, had made the preposterous proposition that the city should secede from the State and ally itself with the rebels, but in the patriotic groundswell all this was forgotten.

But patriotism could not do everything. These crude untrained levies must be trained and organized. The way to the capital lay through a semi-hostile territory; volunteers were attacked on the streets of Baltimore, and there the first blood was shed for the Union. The South had gained an immense start, her troops had been training for months under experienced officers educated by the Government at West Point, and their leaders openly boasted that they would be in Washington by May 1. Then there were numerous other drawbacks. Men flocked to Washington, hoping to get rich quickly out of army contracts or secure lucrative positions for which they were in no way fitted. Party spirit began to show its head again, and Republicans and Democrats were mutually suspicious of each other. The bulk of the new officeholders were naturally Republicans, and although Dix, Butler, Stanton and many of the other party were ready to come to the front their advances were not always cordially received. Mr. Stanton was engaged in active correspondence at this time with Mr. Buchanan and John A. Dix, and he was not the man to avoid expressing his opinions when the occasion arose. The situation at Washington exas-

perated him beyond endurance, the manifest corruption, the apparent inadequacy of the Government to cope with the situation and the general feeling of insecurity are graphically portrayed. Mr. Lincoln comes in for a full share of criticism, and if his remarks on the general situation are severe it must be remembered that they were not more so than many of the Northern speakers and newspapers. He lived to revise his opinion concerning Lincoln, and the President had no support stronger or more loyal than Stanton in the dark days of the civil war which followed.

President Lincoln had issued a proclamation calling a special session of Congress on July 4 to which a message was sent which was an able state paper, showing the Government's position up to that time, and calling for 500,000 volunteers, a loan of \$250,000,000, and new taxes aggregating \$100,000,000 a year. Meanwhile the Federal Army in process of organization had crossed the Potomac river into Virginia, occupying Alexandria, and having several skirmishes of no particular importance. By the middle of July a strong public sentiment had arisen urging an immediate advance on Richmond where the Confederate Congress was to meet on July 20. "On to Richmond" became the general cry, and the Administration under the pressure of public opinion put the army in motion under General McDowell. His force met that of the enemy in full force on Sunday, July 21, and the result is well known. There is not space to discuss the military features of that battle which ended in the panic and retreat to Washington. It was not then known that the Confederates

were nearly as badly demoralized as the Union forces, and none outside the military authorities would have been surprised to see the stars and bars in Washington the next day. Mr. Stanton in a letter to his brother-in-law C. P. Wolcott, who resided at the corner of High and Adams streets, Steubenville, wrote:

Affairs in Washington are to some degree recovering from the horrible condition exhibited on Monday and Tuesday, the disorganized rabble of destitute soldiers is being cleared from the streets by slow degrees, the army officers are not swarming so thickly in the hotels and taverns, and are perhaps beginning to join their men. The enemy have advanced to Fairfax, and their movements are as unpenetrated a mystery as before. Why they did not take possession of the city, as they might have done without serious resistance on Monday and Tuesday, is a marvel. The "Tribune" struck a mighty blow on Tuesday at the cause of this and all the other late disasters. The effort to cast the blame on the "White Plume of Navarre" (McDowell) proves a ridiculous failure. The confident boastings of the Grand Army's march were too recent to be forgotten. McDowell is flat at present, but who knows the same influence may pick him up again. Great expectations are had of McClellan. But will he not be thwarted by Scott's jealousy and cabinet intrigues at every step? There may be some reason to fear that his arrival will be retarded by General Lee. With all the calamity that is upon us I still do not by any means despair of the Republic. The power of endurance, I think, will prove equal to the occasion, and if our people can bear with this Cabinet, they will be able to support a great many disasters.

On July 26 Mr. Stanton wrote to ex-President Buchanan practically to the same effect. That Mr. Stanton at this time expressed the views of many Union Democrats as well as Republicans is not doubted. That he afterwards changed these views as

to the leading characters mentioned is equally certain.

While demoralization seemed to prevail at Washington the country was encouraged by a series of small battles in the mountain region of West Virginia, which practically drove the rebels from that section, which had already manifested its loyalty to the Union and a determination not to follow the eastern section of the state in its partnership with the Southern Confederacy. This department was under command of General George B. McClellan, and although the victories were won directly by subordinates the general credit was not improperly assigned to him. He was 34 years of age, a graduate of West Point, had served in the Mexican war, watched the struggle in the Crimea as Commissioner from the United States, and was subsequently chief engineer and vice president of the Illinois Central railroad and President of the Eastern Division of the Ohio & Mississippi railroad, now the B. & O. Southwestern. He was made a Major General in May, 1861, when followed the West Virginia campaign already referred to. In addition he had a handsome appearance and winning personal qualities which gained for him friends at first sight, and for a time made him the idol of the army. His capacity for organization and preparation for a campaign has never been questioned. So when the disaster occurred at Bull Run, and political pressure as much as anything else demanded a change of commanders, McClellan was the logical successor to McDowell, and he came direct to Washington. While the demoralization was marked it would be a mistake to suppose that everybody was

panic stricken. The extent of the disaster was realized on Monday, and on Tuesday President Lincoln visited the camps to speak words of encouragement to the soldiers, and Congress preserved the even tenor of its way, discussing and legislating to meet the emergency; and among other things passing an act confiscating all property used in aid of the insurrection, which was the beginning of the anti slavery legislation, for slaves had been used in constructing Confederate forts and intrenchments. But that subject was still too delicate to bear any rough handling. General Butler in command at Fortress Monroe arrived at a rather ingenious solution so far as his department was concerned by declaring slaves who flocked into his lines "contraband of war," and put them to work. A proclamation by General Fremont freeing slaves in Missouri was modified by the President to conform to the Confiscation Act.

McClellan, on his arrival at Washington with the full concurrence of the President and General Scott set to work to reorganize the army. New volunteers were coming in under the recent act of Congress, hourly, and his handsome figure was everywhere in evidence no less than the promises of great things which fell from his polished tongue. He was a fluent writer, and both his public and private letters bear witness to the fact that whatever others might think, in his own mind at least, he was in fact the State, all others from the President down were simply puppets to dance when he pulled the strings. In comparison with him Louis XIV. was a nonentity. That Stanton was friendly to McClellan is evident from his letters quoted above. But when McClellan asserts as he does

in "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" that upon his arrival in Washington, "He (Stanton) at once sought me and professed the utmost personal affection," he is not only out of line with the facts but contradicts his subsequent statement in his "Own Story" wherein he says he was first introduced to Mr. Stanton a few weeks after reaching Washington as a safe adviser on legal points. Just when this was is told by S. L. M. Barlow, an eminent New York attorney who went to Washington at the request of General McClellan a few days after the seizure of the Confederate Commissioners Mason and Slidell by Captain Wilkes of the U. S. steamer San Jacinto from the British mail steamer Trent, which had created such a furore in Great Britain. McClellan, who had been asked to attend a Cabinet meeting the next day, asked Barlow's opinion as to the right to hold the envoys. What McClellan had to do with this phase of the question is not clear, but Barlow replied that the matter was so serious that he preferred to ask some other lawyer to aid him, and says: "He (McClellan) asked, 'Whom would you go to?' I answered, 'To Mr. Stanton, who is an able lawyer.' He assented to this, though he did not know Mr. Stanton." Mr. Barlow reached the conclusion after a conference with Mr. Stanton that the right to hold Mason and Slidell was doubtful, and adds: "I made the report to General McClellan, who was much inclined, nevertheless, to hold the envoys and risk a war with England. The same evening I presented Mr. Stanton, which was the beginning of their acquaintance. From that evening for a week or thereabouts Mr. Stanton was consulted by the General every day and some-

times both in the morning early and in the evening." So it was not until about the middle of November that Stanton and McClellan met, and when Mr. Barlow reached home, he wrote to Stanton under date of November 21 inquiring about the Trent affair and expressing confidence in McClellan. Stanton replied on the 23d that nothing on that subject had transpired and closed with this significant sentence: "I think the General's true course is to mind his own department and win a victory. After that all other things will be of easy settlement."

A long time ago a man, whose reputation for patience has come down through the ages, reached a point where even that virtue seems to have lost its effect, and exclaimed, "Oh! that mine enemy would write a book." This patriarch was a philosopher, and knew that if the aforesaid enemy would only put his thoughts down in writing he could not fail to reveal his true character sooner or later in letters so plain that all who would might read. If ever there was a publication to which this reasoning would apply it is McClellan's "Own Story." In it he has completely settled questions which before its publication were matters of controversy, and settled them adversely to himself. In his supposed defense and in the letters written to his wife and others there published for the first time he has made a stronger case against himself than any prepared by his enemies, and the curious part of it all is that he seems blissfully unconscious of the effect of his own revelations, displaying a state of mind which is peculiar to say the least. As the letters written after he was given command of the army of the Potomac throw much light on his

subsequent career, especially his relations with Stanton, a few sample extracts are herewith given. On July 27 McClellan was assigned to command the Army of the Potomac, and on that day he wrote to his wife: "I find myself in a new and strange position here. President, Cabinet, and General Scott and all, deferring to me. By some strange operation of magic I seem to have become the power of the land."

Congress remained in session until August 6, enacting a great deal of valuable legislation, and he writes on July 30, concerning a visit to the Senate: "Was quite overwhelmed by the congratulations I received, and the respect with which I was treated. I suppose half a dozen of the oldest made the remark I am becoming so much used to: 'Why, how young you look; and yet an old soldier.' They give me my way in everything. Full swing and unbounded confidence. All tell me that I am held responsible for the fate of the nation, and that its resources shall be placed at my disposal." Certainly one could not ask for more, and our "young Napoleon" whose head seems by this time to have been badly turned, on August 2, writes: "I handed to the President to-night a carefully considered plan for conducting the war on a large scale. I shall carry this thing on *en grande* and crush out the rebellion in one campaign. I flatter myself that Beauregard has gained his last victory."

How he found time to prepare a "carefully considered plan" of such magnitude in the previous five days largely devoted to social functions and public exhibitions is not explained, but from subsequent complaints the "plan" seems to have been cold-

ly received, in fact it was an outline of plans practically already adopted by the Government.

As General Scott, McClellan's superior officer, had apparently ceased "deferring" to him his tone suddenly changed. "He understands nothing; he appreciates nothing," and on August 9 he indites this astonishing communication: "General Scott is the great obstacle. He will not comprehend the danger. I have to fight my way against him. Tomorrow the question will probably be decided by giving me absolute control, independent of him. I suppose it will result in enmity on his part against me, but I have no choice. The people call on me to save the country. I must save it, and cannot respect anything that is in the way. I receive letter after letter, have conversation after conversation, calling on me to save the nation, alluding to the presidency, dictatorship, etc. As I hope one day to be united forever with you in heaven, I have no such aspirations. I would cheerfully take the dictatorship and agree to lay down my life when the country is saved. I am not spoiled by my new unexpected position."

By August 16 he seems to have worked himself up to a state of terror, and writes: "I am here in a terrible place; the enemy have from three to four times my force (the enemy had about one-third); the President, the old General, cannot or will not see the true state of affairs. * * If my men will only fight I think I can thrash him notwithstanding the disparity of numbers. I am weary of all this. * * A heavy rain is swelling the Potomac; if it can be made impassable for a week we are saved."

He does not explain how the rains would prevent the Confederates from shelling the city from the heights south of the river, which he had apprehended on his first arrival at Washington. As time passed and Beauregard did not attack his courage rose, and by August 20, he concludes: "I can now defend Washington with almost perfect certainty. In a week I ought to be perfectly safe, and be prepared to defend all Maryland; in another week to advance our position."

By September 6 he concludes that "If B. attacks now, he would be defeated with terrible loss. I feel now perfectly secure against any attack. The next thing will be to attack him." A few days after he writes: "I inclose a card just received from A. Lincoln, which shows too much deference to be shown outside." * * * I am becoming daily more disgusted with this administration; perfectly sick of it."

On October 6 he writes: "I do not expect to fight a battle near Washington; probably none will be fought until I advance, and that I will not do until I am fully ready. * * A long time must elapse before I can do this, and I expect all the newspapers to abuse me for delay, but I will not mind that."

On the 10th he wrote: "There are some of the greatest geese in the Cabinet I have ever seen; enough to tax the patience of Job."

So the days ripened into weeks and the weeks into months, and still the monotonous headline appears in the newspapers: "All quiet on the Potomac." In the meantime the Confederates were placing batteries along the river shutting off Washington from the sea. With a little assistance from

the army the naval officers professed their ability to keep the river open. In spite of urging McClellan failed to give that assistance, and a complete blockade was established. In his testimony afterwards McClellan said he never regarded the obstruction of the Potomac as of vital importance; its importance was more moral than physical!

By the middle of October he concluded that General Scott was an obstacle in his path which should be removed. In fact he had persistently ignored his superior for some time past, even to the extent of disobeying direct orders, and communicating with the President and Secretary of War without any regard to his chief. Such a spirit carried through the army would have been subversive of all discipline, and naturally displeased the old hero, who had so heartily welcomed his junior officer to Washington. On October 4, Scott addressed a passionate remonstrance to the Secretary of War, but the "Young Napoleon's" star was in the ascendant and it does not seem to have had any effect. Finally, on October 31st he sent in his resignation, and on the next day McClellan succeeded to the command of all the armies of the United States.

There was no doubt a general feeling of relief at the change. General Scott was full of years, and his infirmities were such as to prevent him taking the place in the field afterwards occupied by Grant, but his past record of long and faithful services to the country, his unswerving loyalty when Virginia, his native State endeavored to cut loose from the Union, the sundering of the old ties which had bound him to Lee and many of his associates on the battle-

fields of Mexico, have linked his name inseparably with his country's history and all that is highest and best in unselfish patriotism.

The President called on the new commander with congratulations to which McClellan answered: "I feel as if several tons were taken from my shoulders today. I am now in contact with you and the Secretary. I am not embarrassed by intervention." Everybody thought, "now we shall see something." But things went on as before, drilling by day and letter writing at night.

The Trent affair has already been referred to and how it became the means of introducing McClellan to Mr. Stanton. They naturally became quite friendly, and although as we have seen Mr. Stanton never became fully imbued with the idea that the duties of President, Secretary of State and Secretaries of War and Navy had been transferred to the young commander. On November 17 McClellan wrote to his wife. "I shall try again to write a few lines before I go to Stanton's to ascertain what the law of nations is on this Slidell and Mason seizure."

A few days later he again writes: "I have been at work all day nearly on a letter to the Secretary of War, in regard to future military operations. I have not been at home for some three hours, but am concealed at Stanton's to dodge all enemies in the shape of browsing Presidents. * * * One A. M. I am pretty thoroughly tired out. The paper is a very important one, and is intended to place on record that I have left nothing undone to make this army what it ought to be and that the necessity for delay has not been my fault. I have a set of men

to deal with unscrupulous and false. If possible, they will throw whatever blame there is on my shoulders, and I do not intend to be sacrificed by such people."

As the only "people" who had any control over McClellan were President Lincoln and Secretary of War Cameron, who were stretching every nerve to help him, only beseeching him to do something, the weight of the above special pleading can easily be determined.

The general impatience at what seemed to be extending into everlasting delay finally began to be so pronounced that on December 21, the Congressional Committee on Conduct of the War requested an interview with General McClellan. He promised to be present on the 23d, but was ill on that day, and did not appear until January 15, during which period even a show of military preparations ceased. But in the meantime the committee had been taking other testimony, which showed that the Washington fortifications were inadequately garrisoned, and that with two exceptions none of the subordinate Generals knew anything of McClellan's plans except Franklin and Porter, who declined to give them without his permission. But nobody except Porter could see anything to prevent the army moving at once, and he declined to give his reasons. So everybody was left in the dark, and, as Nicolay and Hay express it, "the military machine both east and west, was not only at a complete standstill, but was without a programme."

CHAPTER V.

SECRETARY OF WAR.

McClellan's Misstatements—Gen. Stone and Ball's Bluff—Eckert's Promotion—More Vigorous Prosecution of the War—Order for General Movement—Victories in the West—Stanton Disclaims Credit—Battle of the Ironclads—Stanton's Norfolk Campaign.

On January 11, 1862, there was an important change in the Cabinet. Simon Cameron retired from the office of Secretary of War, and Edwin M. Stanton was appointed in his place. The latter was confirmed by the Senate on the 13th, and Cameron was appointed Minister to Russia. Mr. Cameron could not have been considered as a successful administrator, and during the later phases of the McClellan controversy he had sunk to a cipher. Like Generals Fremont and Hunter he had advanced views in regard to liberating slaves, which Mr. Lincoln had determined to control in his own time and manner, and there were stories of corrupt army contracts due at least to lack of vigilance. But beyond all these matters the President doubtless recognized the fact that military matters were in bad shape, and wanted more vigor in that direction. As seven cities claimed the honor of Homer's birthplace, so there have not been lacking those who are willing to be credited with having suggested the appointment of the new war minister. Nicolay and Hay say the matter was discussed privately among Cameron, Seward and Chase, that they all

joined in the opinion that the most agreeable and fittest successor in the War Department would be Stanton, and that each of them was impressed with the belief that he alone was the chief agency in bringing about a change and especially in selecting the man destined to become the greatest war minister the Government has ever had. But the conclusion is that the appointment was Lincoln's own work. Even had he preferred Judge Holt, whose appointment would have met with general acceptance, Abraham Lincoln was not the man to consult his personal preferences when the country's interest was at stake, and to discover the motive which controlled Stanton's appointment we have only to refer back to the interview related on page No. 42. As there stated Mr. Stanton's appointment had occurred to him when making up his cabinet the previous year, but the call had not then been so strong as to demand the effacement of party lines and personal sentiment. It was a good thing for both men that the more they were thrown together the more they grew to respect and love each other.

It was hardly to be expected that McClellan would keep his fingers out of this pie, and accordingly on page 153 of his "Own Story" he tells of Stanton calling on him immediately after his nomination. "He said that acceptance would involve great sacrifices on his part, and that the only possible inducement was that he might have it in his power to aid me in putting down the rebellion, *by devoting all his energy and ability to my assistance*, and that together we could soon bring the war to a close. If I wished him to accept he would do so, *but on my ac-*

count only. He had come to know my wishes and determine accordingly. I told him I hoped he would accept the nomination."

Can any one who had the slightest acquaintance with Edwin M. Stanton give the slightest credence to this preposterous story? It certainly would require a strong effort of the imagination to picture the fiery and robust Stanton kowtowing thus to anybody--least of all to a character like McClellan. Such a performance and statements are contrary to the whole nature of the man, and are as inconsistent with his manner and methods as is the claim of Judge Black to the authorship of the memorandum quoted on page 60. McClellan practically contradicts himself only a few pages later in his book when he says Stanton "no doubt made use of his pretended friendship for me to secure his appointment," and that "he climbed on my shoulders only for the purpose of throwing me down."

Stanton did call upon McClellan on the 16th, the day after the former's commission issued, in company with General Van Vliet, a member of McClellan's staff. Having practiced on keeping Mr. Lincoln waiting his pleasure the General doubtless considered it advisable to break Stanton in early so that the latter might know his place, and consequently kept him waiting an hour while he was holding a "levee" with members of his staff and others upstairs. This did not have just the effect desired, and, according to General Van Vliet, Stanton was very indignant, and desired to know "what sort of a commanding general the country had." He was destined to find out ere long, but certainly this does not tally very well

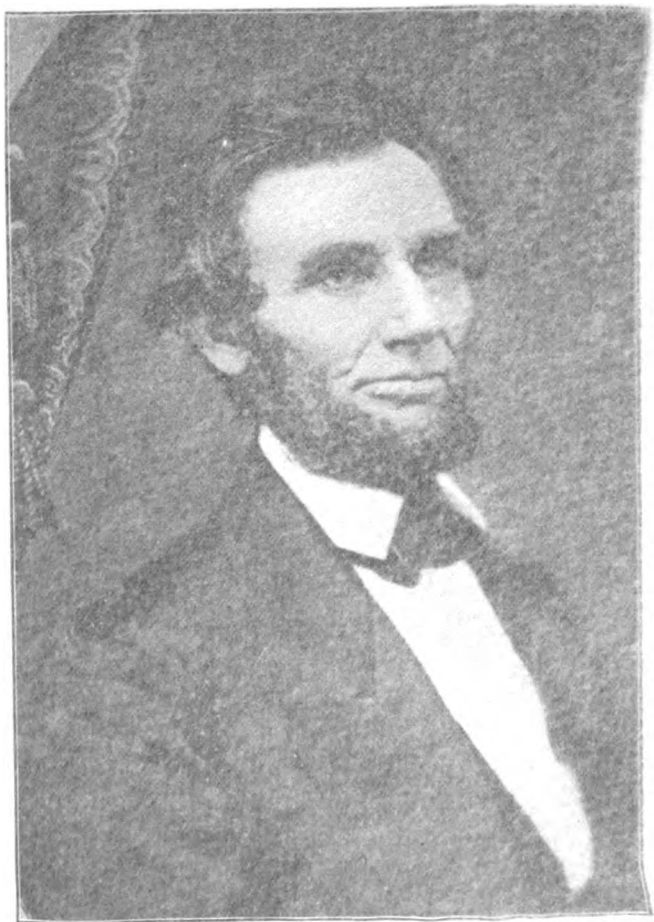
with McClellan's story of the call a few days before. In response to a visit by officers in the regular service on the new Secretary on January 20, the latter made a pointed address, concluding with the words: "It is my work to furnish the means, the instruments for prosecuting the war for the Union and putting down the rebellion against it. It is your duty to use those instruments, and mine to see to it that you do use them." In a letter a few days after to Chas. A. Dana, afterwards Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton says: "This army has got to fight or run away, and while men are striving nobly in the West, the champagne and oysters on the Potomac must be stopped." It was very evident that a new atmosphere was prevailing at the capital, and the mails and telegraph lines brought congratulations from loyal men of all political parties.

At the outset of his official career the new Secretary was confronted with some difficult problems which came over as a legacy from the old administration. First there were what were known as arbitrary arrests. It is conceded that in time of war persons suspected of being spies or giving aid and comfort to the enemy in any way may be arrested by military authorities without going through the customary legal processes, and confined without the right to a speedy trial. This power is necessary to the preservation of the State, although its liability to abuse has always caused it to be watched with jealous scrutiny. Previous to Mr. Stanton's appointment the power had been exercised through the medium of the Secretary of State, a civil officer of the Government, a proceeding of doubtful legality to say the least. Mr.

Stanton recognizing the fact that this authority must be exercised, if at all, through the military arm of the Government, caused a proclamation of pardon to be issued for all except spies and known aggravated cases, and having the whole matter transferred to the War Department, he appointed Gen. John A. Dix and Hon. Edwards Pierrepont a commission to examine into such arrests, to avoid manifest injustice in this exercise of the war power.

Another was the case of General Charles P. Stone, who in the fall of 1861 had charge of the outposts of defenses of Washington. On October 20th he was located at Poolesville, Md., a few miles above Washington, on the north side of the Potomac. McClellan, at that time, was apparently anxious to learn the location of the enemy, and on the day previous had ordered General McCall with a force to march from Langley on the south side of the river to Dranesville, about half way to Leesburg, Va., to feel the strength of the enemy in that direction. Leesburg was a short distance from Ball's Bluff, opposite Conrad's ferry, the landing place from Poolesville, so that the two forces marching along converging lines would meet at that point. An order was sent to General Stone to keep a good lookout on Leesburg, and see if McCall's movement had driven the Confederates away, adding, "perhaps a slight demonstration on your part would have the effect to move them." McClellan insisted that this order meant nothing more than that Stone should pretend to cross the river, and in the meantime watch the enemy. Stone, however, took it as an order to cross, and sent over a party under command of Col. E. D. Baker, a Senator from

Oregon, a young man of great promise, and a special friend of President Lincoln. For some occult reason McClellan concluded that McCall's forces would not be needed to co-operate with Stone, and instead of allowing them to advance towards Leesburg where they could have made a strong diversion at least, ordered them back to Prospect Hill, near or at their old camp. Like the celebrated King's army that had marched up the hill and then marched down again, they followed McClellan's orders. Word of this retrograde movement was sent to Stone at Poolesville, but it was too late as Stone had already left that point for the river opposite Ball's Bluff, where a forlorn hope under Col. Baker was being cut down by a force of Confederates. One or two wretched scows furnished the only means of reinforcement or retreat, and after the death of Col. Baker the remnant of the retreating force swamped the miserable boats by overcrowding, and it was hard to tell whether Confederate bullets or the waters of the Potomac were responsible for the greater loss. It could not be called a bloody battle so far as numbers went, compared with the struggles that came after. Forty-nine were killed, 158 wounded and 688 missing on the Union side; and 36 killed and 117 wounded on the Confederate. Reinforcements were sent under Gen. Banks on the 22nd, and a Confederate attack was repulsed, but Gen. McClellan thinking "that the enemy were strengthening themselves at Leesburg" ordered all troops back to the Maryland side. On the contrary the enemy were preparing to get out of the way as quickly as possible, a trick which they were to play on numerous subsequent occasions. There



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was great glee in the Confederacy over this affair, and corresponding depression and indignation in the North over what was regarded as an inexcusable and useless slaughter. McClellan's star was still in the ascendant, and the whole blame fell not unnaturally on Gen. Stone. Congress ordered an investigation and there was considerable testimony as to the loose way in which affairs were conducted at the camp, that his wife at least was intimate with prominent secession families in the neighborhood, and treachery was strongly hinted. To these charges Stone interposed an indignant denial so far as any disloyalty was concerned. But this did not convince Congress or the public, and General McClellan, who seems to have conducted an investigation on his own account, made an examination of the written report of the testimony of a refugee from Leesburg which, he says: "So far as such a thing could, tended to corroborate some of the charges made against General Stone. I satisfied my mind by personal examination of the sincerity of the refugee, and then showed the statement to the Secretary of War, upon which he directed me to give the order to arrest General Stone immediately." In the face of this testimony before Congress, the personal recommendation of the General of the Army, and the intimation from Northern Governors that they would not send their volunteers to be slaughtered under such men as Stone, it is difficult to see how Stanton, with Lincoln's approval, could fail to issue the order of arrest, and yet he has been censured for it. McClellan had the order in his possession three days before putting it into execution, which was done on the night of February 8th, and Stone was taken

to the forts in New York harbor. Subsequently he wrote to McClellan's aide-de-camp desiring to know if he should ask for a sort of inquiry, and the reply was "No." The same source directed him to "write nothing; say nothing; keep quiet." In answer to an inquiry as to "who had the power to bring you to trial," his reply was, "When I was arrested the General in Chief, General McClellan, had that power. I know I should claim that power if any man under my command were arrested." As the General in Chief in this case had procured the order and directed its execution, it did not look as though he was anxious for the court of inquiry. The army was soon engaged in the Peninsular campaign, and to Gen. Stone's requests for a hearing the reply was that officers could not be spared from the front for that purpose, which was doubtless true. He was discharged from prison on August 16th, and restored to the army, serving until near the close of the war, when he resigned and became Chief of the General Staff to the Khedive of Egypt. That the real cause of the disaster was McClellan's withdrawal of McCall from Dranesville, thereby releasing the Confederates at Leesburg to overwhelm Baker, seems clear upon a careful study of the situation.

About this time another incident occurred, more agreeable in its nature, showing Stanton's readiness to right a wrong when brought to his attention. The affair was indirectly connected with the Ball's Bluff disaster related above, and is given in detail by David Homer Bates in his interesting and valuable book "Lincoln in the Telegraph Office." Mr. Bates, also a native of Steubenville, was manager of the War

Department Telegraph office from 1861 to 1866. He says:

"Lincoln frequently visited us in this room (the old War Department building,) and from its windows in September, 1861, watched his friend Col. E. D. Baker with his brigade marching out on his way to Ball's Bluff and death. Lincoln also made daily visits during this period to McClellan's headquarters on Fifteenth street, to which wires had been run and the telegraph placed in charge of Thomas L. Eckert (also an Ohio man) who had been appointed captain and assistant aide-de-camp. Eckert's written instructions from Secretary Cameron (possibly at McClellan's request) were to deliver all military telegrams received at Washington to the commanding general, and this order, in at least one case, caused Eckert to keep from Lincoln's knowledge a dispatch of great importance. On October 21, 1861, a message from Gen. Stone near Poolesville, was received at army headquarters over the hastily constructed telegraph line, stating that his troops had moved across the Potomac at Edward's ferry, (a short distance below Conrad's ferry,) and after an encounter with the enemy had been repulsed with considerable loss including Col. E. D. Baker, who was killed. McClellan not being in his office Eckert started out to find him, taking from the stable the sole remaining horse, an ugly tempered mare, dubbed the "man-killer." He rode over to Fitz John Porter's headquarters across the Potomac, where he learned that McClellan had returned to the city. Eckert came back and finding that McClellan had gone to the White House, dismounted, walked across Lafayette

Square, and, in Lincoln's presence, delivered the message to McClellan, who did not tell the President what it contained. * * * Soon after the delivery of Stone's dispatch to McClellan, Lincoln came to headquarters and asked Eckert if he had any late dispatches from the front. Eckert was in a quandary. He recalled the peculiar wording of his order of appointment, and as McClellan had not seen fit to disclose the contents of Stone's despatch, he did not feel that he was warranted in doing so. Accordingly he gave the evasive answer that there was nothing on file. Lincoln then went into McClellan's room and there saw the despatch for the first time. On his way out, passing Eckert's desk he asked him why he had withheld the information. Eckert thereupon told the President what his written orders on the subject were, and explained that when he saw Mr. Lincoln enter the office he had deftly placed the copy of the despatch under the blotter, so that when he made his reply to the President he had told the truth, but not all the truth. Thereafter, when told there was no news, Lincoln would sometimes slyly remark: 'Is there not something under the blotter?' * * The President made no criticism of his action, but upon more careful reflection Eckert concluded that he had made a mistake because, as Commander in Chief of the Army, Lincoln outranked both the Secretary of War and the commanding general."

Now for the sequel: "These instructions (McClellan's) also caused him to refrain from sending military news to the Secretary of War himself, and when Stanton entered the Cabinet he soon found that he was being kept in ignorance of army news, which

however, in some cases was printed in the newspapers and affected the financial markets. It seemed evident to Stanton that there was a leak somewhere, and naturally the telegraph department was suspected. Stanton directed Assistant Secretary Watson to investigate the matter, and the latter devoted a part of his time for a week or so to this inquiry. His report to Stanton while not locating the leak in the news, was to the effect that Eckert was not giving close attention to his duties, and particularly that he had withheld important military despatches from the knowledge of the President and the Secretary of War. An order was therefore made out for his dismissal. Stanton telegraphed for Edward S. Sanford, President of the American Telegraph Company, to come from New York and take charge of the telegraph. This was early in 1862. Sanford had a high opinion of Eckert's abilities, faithfulness and honesty, and so reported to Stanton, who, however, preferred to trust his assistant's report. At once, upon learning from Sanford that there was dissatisfaction with his services, Eckert wrote out his resignation, and sent it by messenger to the War Department. This was on a Saturday afternoon. Stanton was surprised and indignant that an officer under charges, and whose order of dismissal had been prepared, should have received an inkling of the facts, and sent in his resignation before the dismissal could be served on him. This placed Sanford in an unpleasant situation, and he went to Stanton's house early Sunday morning to intercede for Eckert, and finally obtained Stanton's consent to an interview. Eckert, accompanied by Sanford, went to the War Department

that afternoon, and was ushered into the Secretary's presence, and, as he has recently told me, he and Sanford stood for at least ten minutes while Stanton continued to write at his desk, without looking up to see who his callers were. Finally Stanton turned and asked Eckert what he wanted. The latter replied: "Mr. Sanford tells me that you sent for me and I am here."

"Then Stanton in a loud voice, said he understood that Captain Eckert had been neglecting his duties, and was absent from his office much of the time, and allowed newspaper men to have access to the telegraph office, also that he was an unfit person for the important position he occupied. Pointing to a large pile of telegrams, all of which were in Eckert's handwriting, he demanded to know why copies had not been regularly delivered to the Secretary of War at the time of receipt. Eckert replied that his order of assignment from Secretary Cameron expressly required all military telegrams to be delivered to the commanding general and to no one else.

"Well," Stanton retorted, 'why have you neglected your duties by absenting yourself from your office so frequently?'"

"Eckert replied that he had not neglected his duties; that he had attended to them strictly and faithfully; that any statements to the contrary were false; that for over three months he had been at his post of duty almost constantly, and had hardly taken off his clothes during that time except to change his linen; that he remained in his office many times all night long and that he seldom slept in his bed at his hotel, and finally, inasmuch as it appeared that his

services were not acceptable, he insisted on his resignation being accepted.

"Just then Eckert felt an arm placed on his shoulder, and supposing it to be that of Sanford, who had all this time remained standing with him, turned round, and was surprised to find that, instead, it was the hand of the President, who had entered the room while the discussion was going on. Lincoln, still with his hand on the Captain's shoulder, said to Stanton: 'Mr. Secretary, I think you must be mistaken about this young man neglecting his duties, for I have been a daily caller at General McClellan's headquarters for the last three or four months, and I have always found Eckert at his post. I have been there often before breakfast, and in the evening as well, and frequently late at night, and several times before daylight, to get the latest news from the army. Eckert was always there, and I never observed any reporters or outsiders in the office.'

"Governor Brough, of Ohio, who had known Eckert before, in connection with a telegraph line on Brough's (Bellefontaine) railroad in Ohio, which Eckert had inspected and rebuilt about 1857, happened to be in the Secretary's room while Eckert was uttering his denial of the charges against him, and after Lincoln had finished his statement, Brough went up to Eckert, took his hand, and addressed him in the most cordial manner. Then turning to Stanton, he told him that he would vouch for anything that Eckert would say or do; that he believed him to be the ablest and most loyal man who could be selected for the place.

"Stanton was so impressed by the intercession of

Lincoln, Sanford and Brough that he quietly took from his desk a package of papers, and opening one said, 'I believe this is your resignation, is it not, sir?'

"Captain Eckert said it was, whereupon Stanton tore it up and dropped the pieces on the floor. He then opened another paper and said, 'This is the order dismissing you from the army, which I had already signed but it will not be executed.' He then tore up the order of dismissal, and said, 'I owe you an apology Captain, for not having gone to General McClellan's office and seen for myself the situation of affairs. You are no longer Captain Eckert; I shall appoint you Major as soon as your commission can be made out, and I shall make you a further acknowledgement in another manner.'

"So from that Sunday afternoon, in February, 1862, until just before the close of the war, Eckert's military title, and the one by which he was best known was 'Major.' The additional acknowledgement referred to by Secretary Stanton, consisted of a horse and carriage, purchased for Eckert's use in the performance of his official duties. The day after the interview described above Stanton detached Eckert from McClellan's staff, and ordered him to make his office in the War Department, and to connect all wires with that building, leaving only enough instruments at army headquarters to handle the separate business of the commanding general."

Thus the President and Secretary were no longer reduced to the necessity of "browsing" around the General's headquarters hunting for news. It may be added that Major Eckert before his recent death manifested a lively interest in the Stanton monument

project, and as soon as he heard of it became one of the largest contributors to the fund.

Mr. Blaine, who in his "Twenty Years of Congress" has given a series of rather graphic word pictures of his time remarks on page 355 of that work that "Mr. Stanton signalized his entrance upon duty by extraordinary vigor in war measures, and had the good fortune to gain credit for many successes which were the result of arrangements in progress and nearly perfected under his predecessor. A week after he was sworn in, an important military victory was won at Mill Springs, Kentucky, by General George H. Thomas." On receipt of the news of this victory, January 22, the following order was issued from the War Department: "The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, has received intelligence of a brilliant victory achieved by the forces of the United States over a large body of armed traitors and rebels at Mill Springs, etc. He returns thanks to the gallant officers and soldiers who won that victory, etc." This does not look like attempting to snatch laurels from anybody. It should also be noted that the President is brought to the front with his rightful title. Mr. Stanton's influence however, was exerted to induce the President on January 27 to issue an order directing "a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces on the 22nd of February." Mr. Blaine says "this order did not mean what was stated on its face. It was evidently intended to mislead somebody." In the West, however, it was clearly interpreted to mean business, and a general was coming to the front out there who evidently considered

fighting to be one of the functions of an army, being disposed to act on the theory that if the enemy did not come to meet you it was your business to go out and hunt him. Colonel, now General Grant, had shown his ability in a bloody fight at Belmont, Mo., on November 7th previous, and was now in command at Cairo with some river gunboats under command of Flag Officer A. H. Foote of the Navy. Mr. Blaine rightfully says "General Grant evidently interpreted Mr. Lincoln's order to mean that he need not wait until the 22nd, and began his movement on the first day of February." Uncertain weather and muddy roads cut no figure in his campaigns, and the result was the fall of Fort Henry on February 6, Donelson on the 16th and Nashville immediately after, giving control of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, and opening a way into the heart of the Confederacy. The Northern people who had so long been waiting with heart sick impatience were now buoyant with enthusiasm and hope, but when a leading metropolitan newspaper ventured to ascribe credit for the change of affairs to the new Secretary, Mr. Stanton at once entered a vigorous disclaimer, insisting that the credit belonged to the general and soldiers in the field, and quoting as the keynote Grant's message to Buckner at Fort Donelson, "I propose to move immediately upon your works." Price was driven by Curtis out of Missouri, and that state practically freed from the presence of an organized foe.

On March 8th, there was a sensational episode which startled not only Washington but the entire country. When the Norfolk navy yard was abandon-

ed by a Union force the steam frigate Merrimac was burned and sunk. In the summer of 1861 the Confederate authorities raised the hull, which was found practically intact, protected the exposed portion with iron sheathing, and on the deck, which was covered by iron plated rafters, like the roof of a house, the batteries were located, and the bow provided with an iron projection to be used as a ram. Notwithstanding efforts at secrecy reports of these operations got abroad, and in October a contract was given at Brooklyn, N. Y., for the building of an iron vessel, whose deck was to be a few inches only above the surface of the water, and whose guns were mounted in a revolving turret, the whole presenting an appearance, in homely language of the day, of a cheese box on a raft. It was a question as to which vessel would be ready first, and it was a still more vital question as to which one would prove the more effective for the work intended. The first question was answered when at noon on March 8, 1862, the Merrimac, renamed Virginia, came steaming out into Hampton Roads. The story is too long to be told here. Suffice it to say she steered directly for the sloop of war Cumberland, giving the Congress a passing broadside, and paying no more attention to the balls from the old smooth bore cannon of that day than if they had been so many pop guns. The Cumberland was practically cut in two by the impact of the ram and sank instantly, the crew gallantly firing their guns until they reached the water line. The Congress was soon destroyed by hot shot, and only the ebbing tide and approaching darkness prevented the destruction of the entire fleet in the bay. The

great wooden warships which had seemed so imposing a few hours before were about as useful as so much paper. Naval warfare had been revolutionized. There seemed nothing in the way of this new monster proceeding up the Potomac river and shelling Washington or even going to sea and paying similar respects to Philadelphia, New York and other coast cities. We now know that this danger was exaggerated, but then it appeared very real. It is needless to say that Secretary Stanton shared the general anxiety, and as a precautionary measure canal boats loaded with stone were sent down the Potomac to be sunk as an obstruction to the channel in case of necessity. The same night he telegraphed to New York for several prominent citizens to meet for the purpose of considering some plan for destroying the monster. He then investigated the conditions at Fortress Monroe and found it provisioned for only sixty days, and that it contained only two guns considered capable of injuring the Merrimac, and one of them was unmounted. He at once addressed a vigorous letter to the chief of the ordnance department, and ordered the fort provisioned for six months. In the meantime the new Federal iron clad christened the Monitor, had left Brooklyn, scarcely completed, and after narrowly escaping shipwreck, arrived at Hampton Roads, between 9 and 10 o'clock that night. She at once prepared for action, and on the next day, March 9, occurred the historic contest which compelled the Merrimac to retire towards Norfolk.

But the dragon was scotched, not destroyed, and it was not prudent to leave the situation controlled solely by the little Monitor, especially as McClellan's Peninsular campaign was about to be

inaugurated. Fully two months before Stanton had suggested to Secretary Welles that the navy should invest Norfolk, recapture the navy yard and stop the rebuilding of the Merrimac, then known to be in progress. Had this effort been successful the incidents related above would never have happened, but Welles met the suggestion coldly, with the counter proposition that the army invest the place by land, which was impracticable at that time. After the Monitor fight Stanton took up the subject vigorously, and receiving no encouragement from the navy department proceeded to take matters into his own hands. On March 14 he telegraphed to Cornelius Vanderbilt, of New York, well known as the "Commodore" from his fleet of Long Island Sound steamers, to name a price for bottling up the Merrimac or destroying her. He at once tendered one of his boats to the Government free of charge. It was the "Vanderbilt," a strong and powerful sidewheel steamer with which it was believed the Merrimac could be successfully rammed and sunk, even though the Vanderbilt might be destroyed in the attempt. General Wool, in command at Fortress Monroe, was directed to have a force ready for immediate action. The President, and Secretaries Stanton and Chase left Washington in the revenue cutter Miami on the evening of May 5, and the next evening arrangements were made with Commander Goldsborough for cooperation of the vessels in that neighborhood. On the 7th the fleet composed of the Dacotah, Savannah, San Jacinto, Monitor and Stevens began shelling the batteries at Sewall's Point near the subsequent site of the Jamestown exhibition, and shortly after the Merrimac came out, but when the Vanderbilt prepared to run her down

her commander turned back towards Norfolk harbor, where, to prevent capture, she was blown up the following morning. Troops were landed under cover of the naval fire and marched towards Norfolk, which surrendered at 5 o'clock that evening. This brilliant military achievement, which ranks with Grant's work at Forts Henry and Donaldson, was due in its conception and throughout its management to Secretary Stanton. It revived Union hopes once more, and assured without further menace absolute control of that great body of water into which pours the Potomac, James and York rivers as well as of Chesapeake bay. All of this was done in one hundred and twenty hours, and fully supports the declaration of General I. M. Vincent that "If Stanton had been a military man the brilliant and decisive character of his Norfolk expedition would have filled the world with his fame."

Nicolay and Hay in their usually accurate history say it happened by a curious coincidence that President Lincoln, Secretary Chase and Secretary Stanton started in the evening of May 5 for a visit to Fortress Monroe. We have seen how thoroughly the details of the "coincidence" had been arranged by Stanton.

CHAPTER VI.

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST.

Halleck's Intrigues—Battle of Shiloh—Grant Saved by Stanton—Ellet's River Fleet—Capture of Memphis—Fall of New Orleans—Farragut's and Butler's Work—Why Vicksburg Was Not Taken.

General Grant has expressed the opinion that after the capture of Donelson and Nashville "if one general, who would have taken the responsibility, had been in command of all the troops west of the Alleghenies, he could have marched to Chattanooga, Corinth, Memphis, and Vicksburg, with the troops we then had; and as volunteering was going on rapidly over the North, there would soon have been force enough at all these centres to operate offensively against any body of the enemy that might be found near them." But the General in Chief (McClellan) was still "organizing" on the Potomac, and Halleck and Buell in their comfortable offices in St. Louis and Louisville, were not only afraid that somebody might get hurt, but Halleck and McClellan were actually corresponding as to the expediency of arresting the man who had won these substantial results, and turning over his command to Gen. C. F. Smith. The next day after the capture of Donelson Stanton recommended to the President that Grant be made a Major General, which was promptly done. Halleck sent a telegram to McClellan suggesting that Grant and Pope be made Major Generals and himself be given command in the West. He asked this in return

for Forts Henry and Donelson. On the 20th he renewed his request of McClellan for full command in the West, but on the 22d Stanton told him that the President did not consider any change in the military departments advisable at that time. It was then that Halleck began to find fault with Grant for irregularity in sending reports, for which Grant was not to blame, and on March 2d, he sent a dispatch to McClellan accusing Grant of neglect and inefficiency. In return McClellan authorized Grant's arrest at Halleck's discretion. This was evidently farther than he wished to go, but on the 4th he telegraphed to McClellan raking up some rumors concerning Grant's alleged drinking habits, "which, if true, would account for his bad conduct," adding that he did not consider it necessary to arrest him just then, but had turned over his command to General Smith. These dispatches from Halleck were received at McClellan's headquarters without passing through the War Department, and nothing was known of them by the President or Secretary. Subsequently they were transferred to the War office, and were deemed of such importance that an inquiry was sent to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas for more definite information. Having in the meantime been given command of the Western Armies, as a reward for Grant's brilliant operations there was no further object in Halleck pursuing that personage. He sent a telegram on the 15th announcing that Grant had been restored to his command and practically admitting that there was no foundation for the charges.

While this intrigue was going on the Union armies were gradually working southward. Grant arrived at Savannah on the Tennessee river on March

17, and stationed five army divisions at Pittsburg Landing, nine miles beyond. Wallace's division was at Crump's Landing midway between Grant's two sections, and General Buell with the army of the Ohio had been ordered from Nashville to reinforce the Army of the Tennessee at Savannah. The Confederates were not idle. Beauregard had been ordered West, and he with Gen. A. S. Johnson had collected a large army at Corinth, Miss., twenty-three miles south of Pittsburg Landing. It is seen how the Union forces were divided, and Beauregard and Johnston's aim was to attack and crush them in detail. Of course Pittsburg Landing was the nearest point, and on April 3 the Confederates, 40,000 strong, marched for that place. They had planned for an attack on Saturday, April 5, but unexpected delays prevented it until the morning of the 6th." The Federal forces numbering about 33,000 were encamped without intrenchments on an irregular triangular plateau, having the river as the base, and Owl and Lick Creeks on the side.

As late as the 5th Grant was confident that there would be no attack at Pittsburg Landing, and that he would have to go to Corinth to find the Confederates. He slept at Savannah that night, and while eating breakfast the next morning heard the sound of guns. He at once took a boat for the battlefield, and ordered the advance troops of Buel's army, which had reached Savannah, to come forward by land. Sherman, McClernand, Hurlburt, W. H. L. Wallace and Prentiss, division commanders, were fighting against odds, and being gradually forced back towards the Tennessee river. It was in leading a charge in a desperate effort to win back his

prestige lost by the fall of Donelson that Albert Sidney Johnston was killed, a disaster conceded by the Confederates to be equal to the loss of a battle. Grant's arrival on the field could not stay the course of events, and Shiloh church, around which the fiercest contest raged, was in the hands of the enemy, who gradually forced the Union army back towards the river.

When night fell the Confederates occupied most of the field, and whether they were in a position to follow up their advantage the next day had not. Union reinforcements arrived is a matter of controversy that must always remain speculative. Grant never for a moment admitted defeat, and reinforcements from Buell's army did arrive. The next morning the Federals took the offensive, and drove Beauregard's army from the field, it retreating towards Corinth.

The battle of Shiloh was the subject of many a bitter controversy, the echoes of which did not fail to reach Washington. There was a strong pressure for Grant's immediate removal, but neither the President nor Secretary of War was disposed to act hastily. The great difficulty was to get accurate information. Halleck arrived at Pittsburg Landing on the 11th and took full charge, completely ignoring Grant. On the 21st Stanton telegraphed Halleck:

The President desires to know why you have not made official report to this department respecting the late battle at Pittsburg Landing, and whether any neglect or misconduct of General Grant or any other officer contributed to the sad casualties that befell our forces Sunday.

Three days later Halleck replied:

The sad casualties of Sunday, the 6th, were due in part to the bad conduct of officers, who were utterly unfit for their

places, and in part to the bravery and enterprise of the enemy. I prefer to express no opinion in regard to the misconduct of individuals until I receive the reports of commanders of divisions, etc.

A meaner and more unjust statement could hardly have been penned. Halleck had been on the ground two weeks, and was in a position to furnish facts, not innuendoes, which under the circumstances bore most heavily on Gen. Grant, and the pressure for his dismissal from the army became stronger than ever. A. K. McClure tells a story of a night interview with President Lincoln where for two hours he urged the removal of Grant as necessary for the President to retain the confidence of the country, and concluded:

When I had said everything that could be said from my standpoint we lapsed into silence. Lincoln remained silent for what seemed a very long time. He then gathered himself up in his chair, and said in a tone of earnestness that I shall never forget, 'I can't spare this man, HE FIGHTS.' Lincoln had been encouraged in his stand by Stanton who did not believe the stories of Grant's drunkenness.

That was the last attempt to remove Grant at Washington, but he was so studiously ignored by Halleck that he asked leave of absence for thirty days, and was packing up preparatory to going to St. Louis when General Sherman, who had heard of the matter, called on him in his tent, and persuaded him to remain.

When Halleck took personal charge of the troops after the battle of Pittsburg Landing, the Secretary of War telegraphed him: "I have no instructions to give you. Go ahead, and all success attend you."

He began a leisurely movement towards Corinth, taking thirty-seven days to traverse twenty-three miles, intrenching ever night, and when he reached

that city he found Beauregard's army flown, leaving a lot of junk and Quaker guns. McClellan was not the only man who seemed to have the "slows."

Early in the war Charles Ellet, Jr., a young engineer of promise, who had built the Wheeling and Niagara bridges, had submitted to the Secretary of the Navy a proposition to construct a fleet of light iron-clad but powerful rams, for service on the Western rivers which could not only be used against rebel gun-boats, but would render effective aid to the army in the way of patrolling these rivers. Mr. Welles in his distant home in Connecticut had possibly never seen either the Ohio or Mississippi river, at any rate he thought little of the scheme. Secretary Stanton however, with his knowledge of these streams and impressed with the need of such a flotilla took up the matter, and when the Navy Department refused to have anything to do with it, in March 1862, sent for Ellet, writing him as follows:

If this department had several swift, strong boats on the Western rivers, commanded by energetic fighting men, I could clear the rebels out of those waters, and recover the Mississippi to the use of commerce and our armies. The navy seems to be helpless, and I am compelled to execute a plan of my own to avert the increasing dangers there. Can you not secretly fit out a fleet of swift boats at several points on the Ohio, and descend on the rebels unexpectedly, and destroy them? Please call at my office at once.

Mr. Ellet promptly responded, and arrangements were made to carry out the plan. Mr. Stanton telegraphed to boards of trade at Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and New Albany asking their co-operation, at the same time expressing the hope to Ellet that not more than twenty days would be consumed in getting the boats ready for service. Mr. Ellet himself says:

In response to that order I selected three of the strongest

and swiftest stern wheel coal tow boats at Pittsburgh, of which the average dimensions are about 170 feet in length, 30 feet beam, and over 5 feet hold. At Cincinnati I selected two side-wheel boats, of which the largest is 180 feet long, 37 1-2 feet beam in the widest part, and 8 feet hold. At New Albany I secured a boat of about the same length but rather less beam, and subsequently I selected another at Cincinnati, of about the same class as the last, and sent her to Madison to be fitted out.

The order was given to Ellet on March 27, and on May 26 he joined the squadron of Commander Davis at Cairo, with a fleet of six vessels, and accompanied the gunboats towards Memphis. General Pope had on April 7, the second day of Shiloh battle, captured Island No. 10 with a large number of prisoners, and his forces were soon after sent to join Halleck's near Corinth. Ellet applied to Davis for co-operation in his movement on Memphis, which the latter refused, and he was compelled to rely on his own forces. No serious obstacle was encountered until the fleet came in sight of Memphis, where eight rebel gunboats were found on June 6 ranged in two lines abreast of the city. The hills were crowded with spectators to witness the unwonted sight. Five Union gunboats began backing down the river, the steam rams being yet tied to the bank, but with the opening fire four of the rams started into the conflict, One of them had her rudder disabled, and another held back through mistake of orders. But two of them dashed squarely into the rebel fleet, followed by the gunboats. In twenty minutes four of the Confederate boats and one Union ram were sunk or disabled. The other four rebel vessels tried to escape down stream, but three of them were captured or destroyed, only one escaping. The two disabled Union steamers were soon repaired, but the gallant Ellet had received a pistol shot from which he died

two weeks later. Secretary Stanton himself bore the sad news to the Ellet family in the suburbs of Washington, and mingled his tears with theirs. By his orders Ellet's wife and daughter were furnished quick transportation to Memphis, where they remained with the husband and father until his death, which occurred on the boat conveying them north just as the Cairo wharf was reached. Among the witnesses of the battle was Jeff. Thompson with a detachment of troops. He naively states in his report that "we were hurried in our retirement from Memphis," and the stars and stripes were hoisted over the city that afternoon.

The rams were afterwards transferred to the navy department, and Stanton subsequently organized a fleet of patrol boats for Western waters called "tin clads" from their light armor, which though not impervious to cannon was so to musket balls, and rendered efficient service.

While Richmond was the political capital of the Southern Confederacy New Orleans was recognized by everybody as the commercial metropolis. Not only was it the largest and wealthiest city in the South, but its position on the lower Mississippi made it the natural port for this great valley. Long before the war its brilliancy and social supremacy fascinated the visitor, and its history, dating back to the early days of the country's supremacy, gave it an exceptional interest. Hence it was natural that attention should be directed towards it, although it was located so far from the scene of hostilities that few if any of its inhabitants ever expected to see or hear the guns of an "invader." As early as December 3, 1861, a small Union force had occupied Ship

Island in the Gulf of Mexico, and General Benjamin F. Butler had been authorized by the President to raise some troops in New England for special work in the gulf. Troops were raised, but when they arrived at Washington, General McClellan, who was opposed to the expedition, ordered them to Port Royal, S. C. Stanton was nominated Secretary of War on January 13th, and on the 19th entertained General Butler at breakfast, when the latter says he was asked by Stanton why he could not capture New Orleans. A long conversation ensued in which Butler says Stanton suggested five distinct propositions, viz: Capture New Orleans, blockade the James river and cork up the Confederate "government," cut off the stream of supplies from Baltimore to the Confederacy through the Shenandoah Valley, confiscate slaves of rebellious masters, compel McClellan to besiege Richmond until it surrendered. As a result of this interview the order to send Butler's troops to Port Royal was countermanded, although McClellan recommended that they be held in reserve "ready to support and reinforce in any quarter where they may be required, and which can only be determined by circumstances in the course of active operations;" a delightful state of indefiniteness characteristic of the writer who was only clear that "what was known as General Butler's expedition ought to be suspended." Stanton evidently did not think so, and had already called on General Butler as to his facilities, expenses, etc., and the latter was ordered to go ahead with his preparations. Butler waited on McClellan for the command to depart, having furnished him with the necessary details, but none came, and finally on the 12th wrote to the Secretary that he was still

waiting instructions, gently hinting that "I presume in the press of more important matters these details may have been overlooked. Fearing however, that the memorandum may be mislaid, and in order to refer to it, a duplicate is sent herewith." The Secretary referred this to McClellan who as usual did nothing, when a shrewd idea seems to have occurred to Butler. He had stated to Congress and the President his belief that the rebel forces about Washington did not exceed 65,000 men. The President asked him if he would cross the Potomac and make an attack if he had 100,000 troops, to which he promptly replied in the affirmative, remarking however that he preferred going to New Orleans. He was asked to call again, and in the meantime learned that an order from McClellan to disembark his (Butler's) troops at Fortress Monroe had by some accident miscarried. He at once called on McClellan, and asked him to revoke the order for disembarking, telling him of the conversation with Mr. Lincoln and adding, "I want to get away from Washington. I am sick of the intrigues and cross purposes that I find here. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton seem to me to be about the only persons who are in dead earnest for a vigorous prosecution of the war." He asked McClellan whether he should call on him again before seeing the President, and was told to do so. For once in his life McClellan did some rapid thinking. It was very inconvenient to have a General around Washington who wanted to fight, and it would be still more inconvenient if the President and Secretary should take a notion to turn the army over to him and tell him to go in. Mr. Lincoln on one occasion had plaintively remarked that he would like to "borrow" the army if

McClellan did not intend to do anything with it. Inside of two days McClellan had complied with Stanton's order, created a Department of the Gulf with Gen. Butler in command, and instructed him to advance on New Orleans in co-operation with the navy. The latter lost no time, but sailed for Ship Island on the 25th with 1,600 men, 8,000 having preceded him. Admiral Farragut was already there, and subsequent events are a matter of history. The bombardment of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, the naval battle in the river, make a tale that is highly interesting but cannot be detailed here. Farragut arrived before the city with his fleet on the 25th of April, just one month from the day Butler sailed from Fortress Monroe, and hoisted the National flag over the custom house. Gen. Butler arrived on May 1, and took full possession of the city, and on the 10th Secretary Stanton wrote him: "No event during the war has exercised an influence upon the public mind so powerful as the capture and occupation of New Orleans. To you and to the gallant officers and soldiers under your command the department tenders cordial thanks."

This event not only produced encouragement at home, but a profound effect abroad, where its importance was fully realized. Even those journals which had been most hopeful of the success of the Southern Confederacy admitted that the blow was telling if not fatal. Slidell, the Confederate Commissioner at Paris, wrote that "if New Orleans had not fallen, our recognition could not have been much longer delayed." Mason wrote from London: "The occupation of the principal Southern ports by the enemy, and the increased rigor of the blockade of

those remaining to us, resulting from it, give little hope now of any interference in regard to the blockade, and leave only the question of recognition."

Great, however, as were the direct advantages of the capture of New Orleans, it was only preliminary to a still greater object, the reopening of the Mississippi river to navigation throughout its entire length, and isolating the territory west of that river from the balance of the Confederacy. Pope and the river navy had captured Island No. 10, Stanton's rams were already en route to assist in the destruction of the rebel fleet at Memphis and the capture of that city, after which Vicksburg remained the only important fortified city in the hands of the enemy. Not only did it control the river, but through it passed the single line of railroad still connecting the extreme ends of the Confederacy. The Confederates were not insensible to its importance, but trusting to their powerful defenses above and below did not begin the erection of strong fortifications and concentration of troops at that point until after the fall of Memphis and New Orleans. Herculean efforts were also made by conscription to increase their armies in every direction, and with success. On the other hand Halleck had collected a fine army at Corinth, whither Pope's forces had been taken from the Mississippi, and it was reasonable to expect that he would co-operate in reducing Vicksburg at once. Farragut and Butler speedily began working their way up the river, although it was known that the latter's force was too small to accomplish much without assistance. Gen. Curtis had been operating to some disadvantage in Arkansas, and on June 12th Halleck promised "If the combined fleet of Farragut

and Davis fail to take Vicksburg I will send an expedition for that purpose as soon as I can reinforce General Curtis." Certainly this promise was very late, for he knew by April 27th that New Orleans was captured, and that Farragut had orders to push up the river, and he should have been prepared to meet him. But he was still shoveling his way to Corinth, and when Farragut reached Vicksburg there was nobody to assist him. He demanded the surrender of the city, which was of course refused, and being unable to reduce the batteries he returned to New Orleans about June 1. He had only two regiments of troops on this expedition. Orders were sent from Washington to try it again, and running the batteries on June 28th he joined the ram fleet above in charge of Captain Ellet, brother of the originator of the fleet, by whom word was carried to Davis at Memphis who with his gunboats joined Farragut in again running the batteries. All this was magnificent but it was not war. In the meantime Butler had written to Stanton that he would send half of his entire force to co-operate with Farragut, which was done, to which Stanton replied fully approving of the plan and declaring that the possession of New Orleans, and the clearing of the rebels from the Mississippi had always appeared to be one of the chief results of the war. Assuming that Halleck would move at once he sent a telegram to that General on the 23d, making suggestions as to cutting a canal in the rear of Vicksburg. General Halleck took three days to indite a reply to this telegram which was five days in reaching him, saying: "It is impossible to send troops to Vicksburg at present; but I will give the matter full attention as soon as circumstances will

permit." On July 3, two days later, he wrote to Farragut:

The scattered and weakened condition of my forces renders it impossible for me at the present to detach any troops to co-operate with you on Vicksburg. Probably I shall be able to do so as soon as I can get my troops more concentrated. This may delay the clearing of the river, but its accomplishment will be certain in a few weeks.

But he had found it easier to scatter his forces than to get them together again, and on the 14th Stanton sent him the following telegram:

The Secretary of the Navy desires to know whether you have, or intend to have, any land force to co-operate in the operations at Vicksburg. Please inform me immediately, inasmuch as orders he intends to give will depend on your answer.

To which the following conclusive if not satisfactory answer was received:

I cannot at present give Commodore Farragut any aid against Vicksburg. I am sending reinforcements to General Curtis in Arkansas, and to General Buell in Tennessee and Kentucky.

So the expedition against Vicksburg was abandoned, while Halleck's army was dispersed in guarding lines of railroads and other unimportant points. No further signal advantage was gained in the West that year, and one cannot fail to agree with the declaration by Gen. Sherman in his Memoirs that "it was a fatal mistake that halted General Halleck at Corinth, and led him to disperse and scatter the best materials for a fighting army that, up to that date, had assembled in the West."

CHAPTER VII.

STAGNATION IN THE EAST.

All Quiet on the Potomac—The Capital Besieged—Efforts of Lincoln and Stanton for Action—A March to Quaker Guns—The Peninsular Campaign—6,000 Confederates Check 160,000 Federals—McDowell's March and Washington's Danger.

In order to give a consecutive account of operations in the Mississippi Valley in the spring and summer of 1862, we left the army of the Potomac, to which we must now return, and we will find it just where we left it. Somebody has remarked, that happy is the country which has no history. If this applied to an army then affairs should have been in a very happy state around Washington, for certainly history was not making very rapidly in that locality. Six months had passed away, and still came the word "All quiet on the Potomac." Rebel batteries blockaded the river, cutting off approach by sea, the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, through line to the westward, was held by the Confederates, and but a single line of railroad maintained a precarious connection with the North. The capital was almost in a state of siege, and there was a magnificent army of 150,000 men doing nothing, and accomplishing nothing, while its commander at his city home was holding levees and maintaining an inscrutable silence as to his future plans, if he had any. Mr. Lincoln and Secretary Stanton have been charged with unwarrantable interference with military movements and hampering commanders in the field. The records do not bear

out this charge. Like the rest of the country they were willing to leave details to the generals in the field, only insisting that when they were furnished everything possible in the way of men and supplies they make an effort at least to do something. A weary country could wait no longer, and consequently came President Lincoln's order for a general movement on February 22, which Mr. Blaine says was evidently intended to mislead somebody. Who that somebody was is not clear, but as the Western armies were in very lively motion before the 22d there was no doubt as to where the order would especially apply. But to avoid any possible misunderstanding the following "President's Special War Order No. 1" was sent to General McClellan, directing "that all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defense of Washington, be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of seizing and occupying a point upon the railroad southwestward of what is known as Manassas Junction, all details to be in the discretion of the General in Chief, and the expedition to move before or on the 22d day of February next." There is certainly nothing misleading about this, it was a direct order from the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy to his subordinate to make a certain movement. Did he go? Not at all, but sat down to argue the great danger of a direct advance where he would meet hosts by the hundred thousand well armed and entrenched and behind entrenchments. His plan was to embark the army from Annapolis and proceed by water to Urbana, a town on the lower Rappahannock river, a short distance above its debouchment into Chesapeake bay, thence march to West Point on York river, and

"thence but two marches to Richmond," a delightful holiday excursion if nobody should happen to be in the way. It may be remarked here that as far back as the preceding October McClellan's own reports showed him to have an army of 147,695 men present and fit for duty, which force had been increased rather than diminished, but he had the bugbear of 150,000 well armed rebels in front of him, to meet which he wanted 240,000 men! The fact is Johnston's forces amounted to less than 50,000 men, and promptly on February 22d, he began moving his supplies from Manassas in the belief that as a matter of course McClellan would advance on that point, which he knew he could not hold. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the councils and conferences which led to the abandonment of the Manassas route to Richmond earnestly urged by both Lincoln and Stanton, but the Young Napoleon had his way, and vigorous preparations were begun to carry out McClellan's programme with two important stipulations namely, that the blockade of the Potomac river and the B. & O. railroad should be raised, and a sufficient force left at Washington to insure the safety of the capital. McClellan undertook to reopen the B. & O. railroad; troops were collected at Harper's Ferry, and canal boats were sent to be fastened together to make a permanent bridge across the river. The General was on the field bravely telegraphing for more troops, but when an attempt was made to pass the canal boats through the lift lock it was discovered that they were too wide by at least six inches. The attempt was abandoned, and McClellan returned "well satisfied" to Washington, a satisfaction that was not shared by the President. For once however

the Confederates were deceived by McClellan's movements. They did not dream that he contemplated a round about movement via Chesapeake bay, but supposed he was preparing to come directly to Manassas in accordance with Lincoln's order. Accordingly on the 9th, having shipped all his valuable stores Johnston evacuated Manassas, and at the same time the rebel batteries on the lower Potomac were abandoned. McClellan was astounded when this word reached Washington, and from some unknown cause issued an order for the whole army to advance on the deserted works. "Bad roads" were no obstacle when nobody was in the way, and deserted Manassas with its Quaker guns was soon reached, while Johnston's army was safely off to the southward. Then the army marched back, the whole object being according to McClellan's after explanation to give the army a little experience in marching and get rid of their impedimenta. Hawthorne was in Washington at this time, and his history of this remarkable military exploit is worth repeating:

On the very day of our arrival sixty thousand men had crossed the Potomac on their march towards Manassas, and almost with their first step into Virginia mud the phantasmagoria of a countless host and impregnable ramparts, before which they had so long remained quiescent dissolved quite away. It was as if General McClellan had thrust his sword into a gigantic enemy, and beholding him suddenly collapse, had discovered to himself and the world that he had merely punctured a swollen bladder. The whole business, though connected with the destinies of a nation, takes inevitably a tinge of the ludicrous. The vast preparation of men and warlike material—the majestic patience and docility with which the people waited through those weary and dreary months—the martial skill, courage and caution with which our movement was ultimately made—and at last, the tremendous shock with which we were brought up suddenly with nothing at all. The Southerners show little sense of

humor nowadays, but I think they must have meant to provoke a laugh at our expense when they planted those Quaker guns. At all events, no other rebel artillery has played upon us with such overwhelming effect.

The Merrimac scare on the 9th of March threatened to interfere with the new plan of campaign, but action of the Monitor and Stanton's Norfolk expedition soon eliminated that difficulty. On March 11, McClellan was relieved from general command of the army in order that he might give his entire time to his own expedition, and all the departments were ordered to report directly to the Secretary of War. Fortress Monroe was determined as a base from which to proceed up the peninsula lying between the James and York rivers, and the army to be transferred down the Potomac, leaving a force of 40,000 under McDowell and others for the security of Washington. By April 5, under the skillful management of J. H. Tucker of the War Department, 121,500 men with 14,592 animals and an enormous amount of war supplies had been transferred to Fortress Monroe, bringing the forces in that neighborhood up to about 150,000 equipped with everything that could be desired. McClellan left for the front on April 1, and the next day Secretary Stanton received the astonishing information that only 19,000 men had been left to garrison the defenses of Washington, and of these eight regiments had been ordered for duty elsewhere. President Lincoln ordered McDowell's forces to be retained for the present, which was one of McClellan's great grievances. From that time until the end of the campaign there was a regular bombardment of telegrams, sometimes making promises but almost always complaining. It must

be remembered that McDowell's troops were never withdrawn from McClellan's actual force on the peninsula, as might be inferred from some of his telegrams, for they never arrived there, but in addition to the 121,500 actually transported he afterwards received over 39,000, making the total force provided for that campaign upwards of 161,000 men. On April 3d McClellan telegraphed to Washington that he intended moving on Yorktown, a few miles up the river, the next day, and afterwards asked for the Parrott siege guns which had been mounted for the defense of Washington. This was a matter of great concern to Stanton, and at his suggestion Lincoln replied, "Your order for Parrott guns from Washington alarms us chiefly because it argues indefinite procrastination. Is anything to be done?" Stanton had information that the rebel force in Yorktown was very small, and it was afterwards shown that it was only about 6,000. Nevertheless additional troops were sent, and Stanton gave the following encouragement: "Telegraph frequently, and all the power of the Government shall be used to sustain you as occasion may require." Lincoln also wrote: "Once more, let me tell you it is indispensable that you should strike a blow * * * The country will not fail to note, is now noting, that the present hesitation is but the story of Manassas repeated. I beg to assure you that I have never written to you in greater kindness of feeling than now, or with a fuller purpose to sustain you as far as, in my most anxious judgment, I can. But you must act."

An examination of the map of Eastern Virginia shows that the York and James rivers, a few miles

from their mouths, are separated by a narrow strip of land, which at Yorktown is but thirteen miles wide. Across this narrow strip the Confederates had constructed a chain of intrenchments thinly guarded by Magruder's meagre force, and before which McClellan sat down with his 160,000 men. Rhodes says that up to April 11 there was no time when the Union army did not outnumber the Confederate three to one, but it was rapidly strengthened after that, and on April 17 when Johnston took command it numbered 53,000. All this time McClellan was erecting siege works, planting batteries, complaining of the weather and Washington authorities indiscriminately together with "abolitionists and other scoundrels." In the meantime Johnston was watching McClellan, and when he saw his elaborate preparations completed coolly walked out of Yorktown, which he never intended to hold against attack, and left McClellan to walk in at his leisure. He had accomplished his purpose of holding the big Union army at bay for a month until Richmond could be fortified and every man available for defense brought into the field. It was "Manassas over again" minus the wooden guns. Even small favors, however, were thankfully received, and Secretary Stanton at once sent the following dispatch: "Accept my cordial congratulations upon the success of Yorktown. I am rejoiced to hear that your forces are in active pursuit. Please furnish me with details as far as they are required. I hope soon to hail your arrival at Richmond."

When Johnston began his retreat up the Peninsula he posted a strong rear guard at Williamsburg, a few miles from Yorktown, which the advance guard of the Union forces reached on the evening

of the 4th. The next morning Hooker attacked, and fought at a disadvantage against heavy reinforcements all morning without any adequate support, although 30,000 men were within reach, which, owing to confusion of orders, failed to support him. McClellan was notified at 1 p. m. of the situation at Williamsport, and was four hours reaching the scene of battle, although it only took an hour and a half to carry the message to him. It was then too late to do anything that day except to send a dispatch to Washington that night magnifying Johnston's forces, remarking, "I learn from prisoners taken that the rebels intend to dispute every step to Richmond," just what Lincoln told him would happen when he first proposed the Peninsular campaign. However, he adds: "I shall run the risk of at least holding them in check here, while I resume the original plan," which was to convey the troops in boats up York river to the mouth of the Pamunkey, and then work across the country westward to Richmond. But when morning dawned it was found that the enemy had stolen away during the night, and then his courage rose, so the water plan was abandoned. But he informed the Secretary that "until the roads improved both in front and rear no large body of troops could be moved." The rebels, however, whom McClellan considered to be superior in numbers, seemed to have no difficulty in moving with all the celerity desired.

The Army of the Potomac had been divided into four corps on advice of twelve generals in the field, which were commanded by McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes, according to seniority of rank, replacing the more cumbersome method of com-

paratively small divisions. McClellan was so opposed to this that the Secretary allowed him to suspend the order temporarily, although it was against the wish of the President, who sent a rebuke to McClellan after the battle of Williamsburg, referring to his ignoring of the three corps commanders with him, and consulting with Fitz John Porter only. He pertinently asks him: "Do the commanders of corps disobey you in anything?" A few days later in order to placate McClellan the President authorized the formation of the 5th and 6th corps, commanded by Porter and Franklin. In short everything possible was done to satisfy him.

Johnston withdrew to Baltimore Cross Roads a few miles west of White House on the Richmond road, McClellan at the same time moving northwardly forty or fifty miles to White House on the Pamunkey, where he established a base of supplies, and on the 21st established a line on the Chickahominy river the right wing being only seven miles from Richmond and the left twelve miles. In the meantime a brilliant feat had been performed, namely the capture of Norfolk and the destruction of the Merrimac by Stanton's expedition. This left the James river free to gunboats, transports and light draft vessels of all kinds. In fact for the time being there was a regular panic at Richmond, and when the little Monitor and a fleet of Federal gunboats reached a point within eight miles of the city there was a general exodus.

The families of Jefferson Davis and of the Cabinet ministers were among those who left the city. The Confederate archives were packed, and some were actually shipped away. New Orleans had fallen, and it was expected that Richmond would follow as the cul-

mination of Stanton's brilliant stroke. But at Drewry's Bluff, eight miles below the city the river was obstructed by piles and sunken vessels protected by a heavy shore battery, and the banks were lined with sharp shooters ready to pick off every man in sight. Had there been an army on shore to take care of the battery and sharpshooters while the vessels broke through or removed the obstructions the result could not have been doubtful, and Richmond would have fallen as easily as New Orleans. But where was the army? On May 11, McClellan, who had advanced nineteen miles beyond Williamsburg in the direction of White House on the Pamunkey, heard of the destruction of the Merrimac. He had the day before telegraphed to Secretary Stanton that should Norfolk be taken and the Merrimac destroyed he could change his line to James River and dispense with the railroad, which would simply involve a deflection of a few miles to the left. When the news of the Merrimac's destruction reached him he at once sent the following telegram:

I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart upon the destruction of the Merrimac. I would now most earnestly urge that our gunboats and the ironclad boats be sent as far as possible up the James River without delay. This will enable me to make our movements much more decisive.

The gunboats were sent at once, but not being supported by any land force at Drewry's were repulsed, and the expedition came to nothing. McClellan seems to have forgotten all about the gunboats, and kept pegging along towards White House, away from the James instead of towards it, in the meantime begging as usual for more men, holding up the spectacle of being compelled to fight 160,000 rebels with 80,000

troops when as a matter of fact the figures of the confronting armies were almost exactly reversed. In letters to his wife at this time he appears to think the enemy would abandon his fortifications at Richmond and run away, from a force of one-half the number, but does not explain the reasons for this optimistic view. On May 20 when McClellan's army was spread along between White House and the Chickahominy swamps he officially reported his force at 128,864 with 107,088 fit for duty. On May 21, Gen. Johnston reported the number of men in his command at 53,688. McClellan's demands for assistance were so persistent that on May 18 Stanton, by direction of the President, sent him the following:

The President is not willing to uncover the capital entirely, and it is believed that even if this were prudent, it would require more time to effect that junction between your army and that of the Rappahannock by way of the Potomac and York River than by a land route. In order, therefore, to increase the force of land attack upon Richmond the earliest possible moment, General McDowell has been ordered to march upon that city by the shortest route. He is ordered, keeping himself always in position to save the capital from all possible attack, so to operate, as to put his left wing in communication with your right wing, and you are instructed to cooperate so as to establish this communication as soon as possible by extending your right wing to the north of Richmond. It is believed that this communication can be safely established either north or south of the Pamunkey river. In any event you will be able to prevent the main body of the enemy's forces from leaving Richmond and falling in overwhelming force upon Gen. McDowell. He will move with between 35,000 and 40,000 men. * * At your earnest call for reinforcements, he is sent forward to cooperate in the reduction of Richmond, and charged in attempting this, not to uncover the city of Washington, and you will give no order either before or after your junction which can put him out of position to cover this city, &c.

This arrangement was not quite satisfactory to McClellan, who wanted McDowell's corps sent around by water and subject to his order, although he already had more men than he knew how to handle. Curiously enough in making up his report a year after he cites this order issued on the 18th as a reason why he had not taken the line of the James which was opened to him seven days earlier, to which he paid no attention, allowing the gunboats to be repulsed. Even Jefferson Davis saw this blunder, and in his work says events which preceded the 11th "made it quite practicable for him to transfer his army to the James River, the south side of which had then but weak defenses, and thus by a short march to gain more than all the advantages which at a later period of the war General Grant obtained at the sacrifice of a hecatomb of soldiers." At the time McClellan's only comment on the McDowell order was, "Those hounds in Washington are after me again."

At this juncture the rebel forces in the Shenandoah Valley became so active, defeating Banks and driving him across the Potomac into Maryland, that great alarm was felt for the safety of the capital, and 20,000 men were detached from McDowell's corps to retrieve the situation, and Governors of several northern states were asked by Stanton to send special volunteers immediately to Washington. "Our condition is one of considerable danger, as we are stripped to supply the Army of the Potomac, and now have the enemy here," declared Stanton. Jackson retreated up the valley with Fremont and Shields, the latter with McDowell's 20,000 troops, at his heels. Jackson outgeneraled the Federals and safely got away, having

accomplished the main object of preventing McDowell from joining McClellan.

Mr. Blaine in his book makes an elaborate argument to prove that had McDowell been permitted to join McClellan's forces Richmond would have speedily fallen, and quotes McClellan's declaration that he had "no doubt that the army of the Potomac would have taken Richmond had not the corps of General McDowell been separated from it; and that, had the command of General McDowell in the month of May joined the army of the Potomac by way of Hanover Court House we would have had Richmond a week after the junction." Opinions of what might happen under certain conditions which never existed are purely speculative, but we have already studied McClellan's movements sufficiently to judge whether the addition of McDowell's corps would have made any difference in his movements. Although his army was at all times larger than that opposing him, yet in every engagement so far he had been outnumbered, simply because he did not seem to understand how to bring his men into action, in short he already had more men than he had the ability to handle. Jefferson Davis in his *Rise and Fall* makes the following sarcastic comment on McClellan's statement quoted above:

Let us first inquire what was the size of this army so crippled for want of reinforcement, and then what the strength of that to which it was opposed. On the 30th of April, 1862 the official report of McClellan's army gives the aggregate present for duty as 112,392; that of the 20th of June *** the aggregate present for duty as 105,825, and the total, present and absent, as 156,838. Two statements of the strength of our army under General J. E. Johnston during the month of May—in which General McClellan testified that he was greatly in need of Mc-

Dowell's corps—give the following results: First, the official returns 21st May, 1862 total effective of all arms, 53,688; subsequently, five brigades were added, and the effective strength of the army under General Johnston on May 31, was 62,696.

The Confederate system of numbering tended to make their forces appear somewhat smaller than the reality, as they omitted musicians, teamsters and others who were counted in the Union army, but the difference was not very material.

Let us speculate a little farther. Suppose McDowell had been able to advance southward from Fredericksburg towards Hanover Court House, he would undoubtedly have met Johnston's army, which would not have hesitated to attack him in force. True Johnston would thereby have weakened his front, of which an active commander would have taken immediate advantage. But would McClellan have done so? After being held at bay for weeks by a trifling force at Yorktown and in the light of subsequent events this cannot be asserted with certainty. True, if McDowell with his 30,000 or 40,000 men had been able to crush Johnston's army, McClellan might have walked into Richmond even if it were only defended by Quaker guns, but suppose the reverse had been the result, and McDowell had been cut to pieces or allowed to get out of his scrape, as Pope was afterwards, only a miracle could have saved Washington, in comparison with which loss the capture of Richmond would have been but a barren victory. Perhaps Jackson's diversion in the Shenandoah was more providential than it seemed at the time.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMPLAINTS AND DISASTERS.

Attack From the Rear—Eckert Saves the Situation—Stanton Reviews His Work—Lincoln's Patience Exhausted—Lee and Davis Fool McClellan—Barren Victories—Astounding Telegram Suppressed—Proposition to Surrender the Army—McClellan's Dictation to the President—Pope Crushed by Petty Jealousies.

While McClellan was dividing his time between writing letters to his wife and complaining to his superiors there was a well organized movement in the North to hamper the work of the Government in every possible way, in order to force "peace at any price," which was frequently of more aid to the Confederates than were their forces in the field. One phase of this movement was to withdraw generals from the field by the bait of political preferment, and another was to take advantage of the dissatisfaction caused by the meagre results of the year's campaigns by throwing the responsibility on the Administration, especially on the Secretary of War. McClellan's jeremiads to his wife were not published until years after, but it is not improbable that they were known to personal and political friends, and furnished the keynote to most outrageous attacks on Stanton. Even at that date McClellan was being groomed as the anti-war candidate for the Presidency in 1864, and by the method pursued he would be exalted, Stanton disgraced and the South encouraged to continue in armed rebellion. A portion of the press was enlisted in this crusade,

and as early as the middle of April certain inspired articles began to appear. A leader in this scheme was the New York Commercial Advertiser, and on April 15 that journal published an editorial intimating how McClellan's "grand movement" had been imperiled by interference from Washington until the rebels at Yorktown had concentrated forces superior to those of the Union, and hinting at combinations to prevent McClellan from achieving the results of his strategy. It naively adds: "We do not believe that the President is in sympathy with the conspirators against General McClellan's fame and success. We fear it is true, however, that General McClellan has no very warm friend in the Secretary of War. * * A certain school of politicians are angered with him, and because they foresee a possibility that he may be carried into the next presidency by the acclamations of an admiring and grateful people," and much more to the same effect. The same paper two days later published a manufactured rumor that Stanton had resigned, with the following comments:

The Secretary of War has certainly committed grave errors since he took charge of the department, and we have reason to believe that the President is far from satisfied with the Secretary's treatment of General McClellan. It is even said that after the general commanding went to Yorktown, the President felt it his duty to interfere peremptorily for his protection, and sent troops to him that Stanton had withheld; (Franklin's division which was not even disembarked until later) and we believe that such is the fact. * * Mr. Stanton must change either his policy or his place.

The above are only a few samples of the style of warfare waged by a certain class of politicians and newspapers against Stanton, and while this was going on a circumstance occurred which in any other coun-

try would have gotten more than one individual into serious trouble. It is related by David H. Bates in his late work as follows:

In the latter part of April, 1862, Eckert was ordered by Stanton to go to Fort Monroe to look after telegraph matters, and while there several long messages were received from New York City, addressed to McClellan, whose headquarters were at White House on the Pamunkey, about twenty miles from Richmond. These messages were signed by a prominent New Yorker, who was then chairman of the National Democratic Committee, and were of such an extraordinary character that Eckert on his own responsibility, concluded not to forward them over the headquarters line, but to hold them until he could deliver them in person. In effect they advised McClellan to disregard interference by the Administration with army matters, and to act on his own judgment. In that case, he would be sustained by the people of the North, who were becoming weary of having military affairs directed by civilians at Washington. Before Eckert could go to McClellan's headquarters, the President and Secretary of War, with Assistant Secretary Fox of the Navy, came to Fort Monroe, in order to be on hand when the movement against Norfolk should be made. Eckert showed the messages to Stanton, who asked if any answers had been sent. Eckert said no, because the messages had not been delivered to McClellan. Stanton called Lincoln's attention to the matter, and, after a long discussion, it was decided to have Eckert go to White House Landing, and deliver the delayed messages to McClellan. This was done, and when the General read them, he asked whether they had been withheld by order of Stanton. Eckert said no; that Stanton had not seen them, nor had he known anything about them until that very morning. McClellan said: "Thank God, Major, that Stanton had a man in your position who not only had the good sense, but the courage to suppress these messages!" McClellan added, that if he had received them promptly, he would have felt compelled to make some reply that would probably have placed him in a false position. McClellan then sat down and wrote a letter to Stanton, stating that he was glad that Eckert had withheld the messages, and that he had not received any others of a similar kind.

A general of the army receiving treasonable messages ought to be able to indite a reply that would relieve him from a false position rather than place him in one.

While all this was going on Stanton pursued the even tenor of his way, and neither then nor at any other time paid any attention publicly to the slanderous charges and innuendoes which were being so industriously circulated. But the friend of his youth and former pastor and tutor at Kenyon College, Rev. Heman Dyer, of New York, became anxious and wrote to Stanton on the subject, to which he replied confidentially on the 18th of May, 1862, which letter was never made public until June 8, 1886, when Hon. W. D. Kelly read it in the House of Representatives in response to some of these old slanders reiterated against the Secretary. The letter is so interesting, and covers the ground so completely, that notwithstanding its length we here reproduce it in full:

Washington, May 18, 1862.

My Dear Friend,—Yours of the 16th is welcomed as an evidence of the continued regard of one whose esteem I have always been anxious to possess. I have been very well aware of the calumnies busily circulated against me in New York, and elsewhere respecting my relations to General McClellan, but am compelled from public considerations to withhold the proofs that would stamp the falsehood of the accusations and the base motives of the accusers who belong to two classes.

1st, Plunderers who have been driven from the department where they were gorging millions; 2nd, Scheming politicians whose designs are endangered by an earnest, resolute, uncompromising prosecution of this war—as a war against rebels and traitors.

A brief statement of facts, on official record which I can make to you confidentially, will be sufficient to satisfy yourself that your confidence in me has not been misplaced:—

1st, When I entered the Cabinet, I was, and for months

had been, the sincere and devoted friend of General McClellan, and to support him, and, so far as I might, aid and assist him in bringing the war to a close, was a chief inducement for me to sacrifice my personal happiness to a sense of public duty. I had studied him earnestly with an anxious desire to discover the military and patriotic virtue that might save the country, and if in any degree disappointed, I hoped on, and waited for time to develop.

I went into the Cabinet about the 20th of January. On the 27th the President made his war order No. 1, requiring the Army of the Potomac to move. It is not necessary, or perhaps proper, to state all the causes that led to that order, but it is enough to know that the government was on the verge of bankruptcy, and at the rate of expenditure, the armies must move, or the Government perish. The 22d of February was the day fixed for movement, and when it arrived there was no more sign of movement on the Potomac than there had been for three months before. Many, very many, earnest conversations I had held with General McClellan, to impress him with the absolute necessity of active operations, or that the Government would fail because of foreign intervention and enormous debt.

Between the 22d of February and the 8th of March the President had again interfered, and a movement on Winchester and to clear the blockade of the Potomac was promised, commenced and abandoned. The circumstances cannot at present be revealed.

On the 6th of March the President again interfered, ordered the Army of the Potomac to be organized into army corps, and that operations should commence immediately.

Two lines of operations were open,—1st, one moving directly on the enemy by Manassass and forcing him back on Richmond, beating and destroying him by superior force, and all the time keeping the capital secure by being between it and the enemy. This was the plan favored by the President. 2d, The other plan was to transfer the troops by water to some point on the lower Chesapeake, and thence advance on Richmond. This was General McClellan's plan. The President reluctantly yielded his own views, although they were supported by some of the best military men in the country, and consented that the General should pursue his own plan. But by a written order he imposed the special condition, that the

army should not be removed without leaving a sufficient force in and around Washington to make the capital perfectly secure against all danger, and that the force required should be determined by the judgment of all the commanders of army corps.

In order to enable General McClellan to devote his whole energy to the movement of his own army (which was quite enough to task the ability of the ablest commander in the world) he was relieved from the charge of the other military departments, it being supposed that the respective commanders were competent to direct the operations in their own departments.

To enable General McClellan to transport his force, every measure and power of the Government was placed at his disposal and unsparingly used. When a large part of his force had been transferred to Fortress Monroe and the whole of it about to go in a few days, information was given to me by various persons, that there was great reason to fear that no adequate force had been left to defend the Capital in case of a sudden attack; that the enemy might detach a large force and seize it at a time when it would be impossible for General McClellan to render any assistance. Serious alarm was expressed by many persons, and many warnings given me, which I could not neglect. I ordered a report of the force left to defend Washington. It was reported by the Commander to be less than 20,000 raw recruits with not a single organized brigade! A dash like that made a short time before at Winchester would at any time take the capital of the Nation. The report of the force left to defend Washington, and the order of the President, were referred to Major General Hitchcock and Adjutant General Thomas to report—

1st, whether the President's order had been complied with:

2d, whether the force left to defend the city was sufficient.

They reported in the negative on both points. These reports were submitted to the President who also consulted General Totten, General Taylor, General Meigs and General Ripley. They agreed in opinion that the Capital was not safe. The President, then, by written order, directed me to retain one of the army corps for the defense of Washington, either Sumner's or McDowell's. As part of Sumner's corps had already embarked, I directed McDowell to remain with his

command, and the reasons were approved by the President.

Down to this period there had never been a shadow of difference between General McClellan and myself. It is true I thought his plan of operations objectionable, as the most expensive, the most hazardous, and most protracted that could have been chosen; but I was not a military man, and while he was in command, I would not interfere with his plan, and gave him every aid to execute it. But when the case had assumed the form it had done by his disregard of the President's order, and by leaving the capital exposed to seizure by the enemy, I was bound to act, even if I had not been required by the specific written order of the President. Will any man question that such was my duty?

When this order was communicated to General McClellan, it of course provoked his wrath, and the wrath of his friends was directed upon me, because I was the agent of its execution. If the force had gone forward as he had designed, I believe that Washington would this day be in the hands of the rebels.

Down to this point, moreover, there was never the slightest difference between the President and myself. But the entreaties of General McClellan induced the President to modify his order to the extent that Franklin's Division (being part of McDowell's corps that had been retained) was detached and sent forward by boat to McClellan. This was against my judgment, because I thought the whole force of McDowell should be kept together, and sent forward by land on the shortest route to Richmond, thus aiding McClellan, but, at the same time, covering and protecting Washington by keeping between it and the enemy. In this opinion Major General Hitchcock, General Meigs and Adjutant General Thomas agreed; but the President was so anxious that General McClellan should have no cause of complaint that he ordered the force to be sent by water, although that route was then threatened by the Merrimac. I yielded my opinion to the President's order; but between him and me there has never been the slightest shadow since I entered the Cabinet. And except the retention of the force under McDowell by the President's order for the reasons mentioned, General McClellan has never made a request, or expressed a wish, that has not been promptly complied with, if in the power of the Government. To me personally he has repeatedly expressed his confidence and his thanks in the dispatches sent me!

Now one word as to political motives. What motive can I

have to thwart General McClellan? I am not now, never have been, and never will be a candidate for any office. I hold my present post at the request of a President who knew me personally, but to whom I had not spoken from the 4th of March, 1861, until the day he handed me my commission. I knew that everything I cherish and hold dear would be sacrificed by accepting office. But I thought I might help to save the country and for that I was willing to perish. If I wanted to be a politician or a candidate for any office, would I stand between the Treasury and the robbers that are howling around me? Would I provoke and stand against the whole newspaper gang in this country, of every party, who to sell news would imperil a battle? I was never taken for a fool, but there could be no greater madness than for a man to encounter what I do for anything else than motives that overleap time and look forward to eternity.

I believe God Almighty founded this Government, and for my acts in the effort to maintain it, I expect to stand before Him in judgment. You will pardon this long explanation, which has been made to no one else. It is due to you, who was my friend when I was a poor boy at school, and had no claim on your confidence or kindness. It cannot be made public for obvious reasons. General McClellan is at the head of our chief army, he must have every confidence and support, and I am willing that the whole world should revile me rather than to diminish one grain of the strength needed to conquer the rebels. In a struggle like this, justice or credit to individuals is but dust in the balance.

Desiring no office or honor, and anxious only for the peace and quiet of my home, I suffer no inconvenience beyond that which arises from the trouble and anxiety suffered by worthy friends like yourself, who are naturally disturbed by the clamors and calumny of those whose interest or feelings are hostile to me.

The official records will at proper time fully prove,

1st. That I have employed the whole power of the Government unsparingly to support General McClellan's operations in preference of every other general.

2nd. That I have not interfered with or thwarted them in any particular.

3d. That the force retained from his expedition was not needed and could not have been employed by him—that it was retained by express orders of the President upon military inves-

tigation and upon the best military advice in the country—that its retention was required to save the capital from the danger to which it was exposed by a disregard of the President's positive order of the 6th of March.

4th, That between the President and myself there has never been any, the slightest, shadow of difference upon any point save the detachment of Franklin's force, and that was a point of no significance, but in which I was sustained by General Hitchcock, Meigs, Thomas and Ripley, while the President yielded only to an anxious desire to avoid complaint, declaring at the same time his belief that the force was not needed by General McClellan.

You will, of course, regard this explanation as being in the strictest confidence, designed only for your information upon matters wherein you express concern for me. The confidence of yourself, and men like you, is more than a full equivalent for all the railing that has been or can be expended against me; and in the magnitude of the cause all merely individual questions are swallowed up. I shall always rejoice to hear from you, and am, as ever,

Truly yours,

EDWIN M. STANTON.

Rev'd. Heman Dyer.

While the excitement was at its height over Jackson's movements, and McClellan was quietly resting between the Pamunkey and Chickahominy rivers, President Lincoln, whose patience had been stretched to the limit wrote to the General, "I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defense of Washington." The only comment which McClellan makes on this is in a letter to his wife, wherein he says: "A scare will do them good, and may bring them to their senses." On May 31st Johnston attacked two corps which had crossed to the south on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy. Storms had made the river bank full, and with the bulk of the Union army still on the north side the opportunity to attack the divided force was one not to be missed

by that able general. With the aid of Sumner's corps, which came to the rescue, the Confederates were finally repulsed at Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, but no advantage was taken of the victory, although the advance was within four miles of Richmond. On June 1, Robert E. Lee succeeded Johnston, who had been wounded in the battle. McClellan was begging for reinforcements as usual, and McCall's division of McDowell's corps was ordered to join him. Stanton telegraphed, "Please state whether you will feel sufficiently strong for your final movement when McCall reaches you," to which there was an immediate response, "I shall be in perfect readiness to move forward and take Richmond the moment McCall reaches here and the ground will admit the passage of artillery."

McCall's division reached him on June 12th and 13th, which, with reinforcements from other sources, made an immediate increase of 21,000 men or 39,441 since he started up the Peninsula. The weather was fine and the roads were dry, even through the malarious Chickahominy swamps, but still the army stayed, dug and caught fevers. Finally the Confederates concluded to make a move, which was to withdraw two brigades from the trenches in front of Richmond, send them to reinforce Jackson still in the Shenandoah, have the combined forces come to Ashland about 30 miles north of Richmond and "sweep down between the Chickahominy and Pamunkey, cutting up the enemy's communications." The great objection to this scheme was that it would weaken the forces in front of McClellan, a circumstance of which a commander with a modicum of military sense would be expected to take advantage.

Davis in his book relates his conversation with Lee on this subject which seems most comical were it not on a most serious subject. Davis declared that "If McClellan was the man I took him for when I nominated him for promotion in a new regiment of cavalry and subsequently selected him for one of the military commission sent to Europe during the war of the Crimea, as soon as he found that the bulk of our army was on the north side of the Chickahominy, he would not stop to try conclusions with it there, but immediately move upon his objective point, the city of Richmond. If, on the other hand, he should behave like an engineer officer, and deem it his first duty to protect his line of communication, I thought the plan proposed was not only the best, but would be a success." Something of his old time esprit de corps manifested itself in General Lee's first response, that he did not know engineer officers were more likely than others to make such mistakes, but added: "If you will hold him as long as you can at the intrenchments and then fall back on the detached works around the city, I will be upon the enemy's heels before he gets there.' "

Lee knew his man, and the troops were sent. Intelligence of the movement was received at Washington and McClellan notified, Lincoln suggesting that this was equivalent to a reinforcement of 10,000 or 15,000 men. The only response was that, "If 10,000 or 15,000 men have left Richmond to reinforce Jackson it illustrates their strength and confidence." It was Manassass and Yorktown over again. Stuart with his cavalry ranged around the entire army with impunity while Lee was concentrating his forces, and preparing to crush McClellan by piecemeal. He had

planned to "drive down the Peninsula a magnificent army, superior in numbers to his own, and not inferior in any other respect—if we except the respective commanders-in-chief, who were at least equally distinguished engineers. In this enterprise he deserved and coveted defeat by leaving the bulk of McClellan's army between himself and Richmond." (N. & H.)

Jackson having at Beaver Dam Creek with his increased forces on the afternoon of the 26th attacked Porter's Corps was badly repulsed. McClellan arrived on the field after the battle, and Porter urged an immediate advance on Richmond. Instead of that McClellan ordered a retreat to Gaines's Mill. There he was left the next day to hold back 55,000 men with 31,000. Of course he was defeated, and at the end of the second of what is known as the Seven Days Battle, McClellan announced his intention to retire towards the James river. This, which at one time would have been advisable, was not easy of accomplishment with a pursuing army at his heels. On the 29th the rebels again attacked at Savage Station and were repulsed, also at Malvern Hill on July 1, where the Federal forces had also reached the protection of the gunboats. The latter repulse was so complete that even the Confederates expected McClellan to take the aggressive the next day, but instead the army was hurried down to Harrison's landing on the James, where intrenchments were speedily constructed. In this series of battles the Union loss was 15,849, and Lee's 20,135. The Union loss in material and supplies was enormous, but all agree that its morale had not been seriously impaired. It was a curious instance of winning victories and then retreating, and more than

once during these terrible seven days the army was in a position under a capable commander to overthrow Lee's army and march into Richmond. One reason assigned for McClellan's procrastination under earlier conditions was that he wished to bag the Confederate army without a great battle with its resulting effusion of blood and unpleasant memories. Lee was unkind enough to defeat this amiable intention, and if he did not succeed in demoralizing the army, he certainly affected the brain of its commander. The night of the battle of Gaines's Mill he sent a long dispatch to the Secretary of War, lamenting that his soldiers were "overwhelmed by superior numbers" for which the Secretary was responsible, and concluding as follows:

"I know that a few thousand more men would have changed this battle from a defeat into victory. As it is, the Government must not and cannot hold me responsible for the result. I feel too earnestly to-night. I have seen too many dead and wounded comrades to feel otherwise than that the Government has not sustained this army. If you do not do so now, the game is lost. [If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any other person in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army.]"

Had the dispatch as printed above been received at the War Department, it would have been hardly possible to avoid one of two things, either Stanton must have resigned or McClellan been cashiered and dismissed from the service, to say nothing of much severer punishment. Neither could Lincoln have overlooked what was as much an assault on him as on Stanton. McClellan was not unmindful of the prob-

able consequences of his act, for he wrote to his wife: "Of course they will never forgive me for that. I knew it when I wrote it. His (Stanton's) reply may be to avail himself of the first opportunity to cut my head off."

But neither Lincoln nor Stanton saw the offensive and treasonable words inclosed in the brackets above, and they were first made public by McClellan himself in his official report a year later, when he was out of the service, and republished in his book in 1887, where he charges Stanton with mutilating this telegram. It is somewhat curious that all the charges worthy of any attention against Stanton were raked up after his death. They remind one of a fable related by Father AEsop many centuries ago, which the reader will have no difficulty in identifying. How did the offensive words come to be eliminated? The story is first told by Major A. E. H. Johnson, Stanton's confidential clerk, in Mr. Flower's book, as follows:

Col. E. S. Sanford was supervisor and censor of telegraphic messages. He said to Assistant Secretary Eckert that the charge against the Secretary contained in the telegram of June 28 was false—a charge of treason; that the defeat of McClellan's army was due to his own unfitness to command; that his whole course showed that he was afraid of Lee, and every telegram sent was proof of it; that while it was doubtful whether the censor had authority to suppress a telegram from Gen. McClellan to the Secretary of War, yet this was such an outrageous, such an infamous untruth, that he, as telegraphic censor, could not allow himself to be used to hand it to the Secretary. The telegram minus the offensive words was then recopied, and the copy handed to Stanton, and then by him to the President, neither knew of its mutilation, and both acted upon it in perfect ignorance of the terrible charge it had previously contained against them. I never knew Col. Sanford

in person to bring a telegram into the Secretary's room, till that morning, nor did he often come to the War Department, having no office in that building. Major Eckert had sent for him to know what to do with this telegram, which was evidently intended by McClellan to reach the public as a means of shifting the cause of his defeat from his own to other shoulders. The suppression of it destroyed the purpose of the sender, as he himself dared not publish it, and it was not heard of until brought forth as a campaign document in the Presidential campaign of 1864, when the author was snowed under.

The above account is substantially confirmed by Bates, page 108 et seq.

Col. Sanford and Major Eckert undoubtedly assumed great responsibility, but the general verdict will be that their action was for the public good. Had the telegram been received as written it could not have been ignored, and to have published that the leading general of the armies had charged the President and Secretary of War with treason, however baseless, would have presented to the world a sorry spectacle of internal dissensions of which the enemy would not have been slow to take advantage. The balance of the telegram was bad enough, but the President and Secretary were accustomed to McClellan's complaints by this time, and fresh men and supplies were rushed to Harrison's landing to make good the losses of the Seven Days battle. It may be well to remember, that though the army had retreated, it had not been routed, that its corps commanders had actually won more victories than suffered defeats, although the commanding general was never on the field during action, and that the Confederate losses both absolutely and relatively were considerably heavier than the Federals. The only difference was the former had something to show for their work, while the latter

had nothing. But the army was intact with an open river filled with gunboats as its base, and reinforcements coming. While the situation was serious, it was far from desperate. An additional levy of 300,000 men was ordered, the President and Congress manifested a disposition to prosecute the war more vigorously than ever, and the resolve was received by the people with enthusiasm. Mr. Rhodes in his history says nothing could have been warmer than Stanton's expression of confidence and assurance of support, and then he adds:

But something occurred about this time (what it was I have not been able to ascertain) which shook the unreserved trust of Lincoln and Stanton in McClellan. The private and very confidential letter of Seward to Weed, of July 7, reflects some change of feeling on the part of the Administration, and is all the more remarkable, inasmuch as Seward was the constant friend of McClellan. "Notwithstanding," he wrote, "the light thrown upon the position of our army on the James River, most painful doubts come up from there now, upon the question whether it can, in any case be reinforced so as to make a successful or hopeful attack upon Richmond. If that is impossible, reinforcements sent there will only aggravate the impotence of its position. Meantime the suggestion comes up, of course, that the insurgents holding McClellan in his present position with a small force, will immediately organize a new and vigorous campaign against Washington.

What the "something" was which Rhodes could not ascertain we can glean from Flower's work. It was nothing less than an intimation from McClellan that unless certain impossible conditions were fulfilled he would have to surrender his whole army to Lee. He did not trust this startling ultimatum to either mails or telegraph, but sent his father-in-law and Chief of Staff, General Marcy, to Washington with his

message. Marcy called on Stanton, whose child, James H., was dying at the time, with his message. Major Johnson, who was present at the interview, thus describes its effect:

"Mr. Stanton was profoundly stirred, perhaps I might say frightened. He was already staggering under the demands of the country for military activity on the Peninsula, Secretary Chase's appeal for decisive army movements as a basis for National credit, McClellan's inexplicable droning, and the critical condition of his child, yet he instantly measured the awful disaster that would follow the delivery of McClellan's army to Lee, the loss of the Capital, and perhaps the Nation. He talked very earnestly to General Marcy, but before the interview was concluded, he was called away by a message saying that his baby was dying."

We have already seen how deeply Stanton was affected by any misfortune in his own family, but here was something greater than a domestic affliction, and he at once sent a telegram to McClellan announcing certain promotions demanded and adds: "General Marcy is here, and will take you cheering news. Be sure that you will have the support of this department and the Government as cordially and faithfully as was ever rendered by man to man; and if we shall live to see each other face to face, you will be satisfied that you have never had from me anything but the most confiding integrity."

This was followed by a note in which he says:

I have talked to General Marcy and meant to have written to you by him, but am called to the country, where Mrs. Stanton is with her children, to see one of them die. (The child died a few days later.) I can therefore only say, my dear General,

in this brief moment, that there is no cause in my heart or conduct for the cloud which wicked men have raised between us for their own base and selfish purposes. No man ever had a truer friend than I have been to you and shall continue to be. You are seldom absent from my thoughts, and I am ready to make any sacrifice to aid you. Time allows me to say no more than that I pray Almighty God to deliver you and your army from all peril and lead you on to victory.

McClellan replied on the 8th, declaring among other things that "it is with feelings of great relief that I now say to you that I shall at once resume on my part the same cordial confidence which once characterized our intercourse."

In another letter he says: "I have been perfectly frank with you. Let no cloud hereafter arise between us." Just what was the extent of that frankness is disclosed by a letter to his wife on the 13th, as follows:

So you want to know what I think about Stanton, and what I think of him now? I will tell you with the most perfect frankness. I think * * * I may do the man injustice. God grant that I may be wrong. For I hate to think that humanity can sink so low. But my opinion is just what I have told you. Enough of the creature.

What that opinion was is represented by the three stars in McClellan's book. Whether it was suppressed by the publisher as being unfit to print, or excised by McClellan himself we have no means of knowing.

In the meantime President Lincoln concluded to make a visit to Harrison's landing to enquire as to the situation, and, according to General Lew Wallace, to dissuade McClellan from surrendering the army. He discovered upon his arrival that nobody except McClellan believed that the enemy was ser-

iously threatening their position. The commander improved the occasion, however, to hand the President a long politico military document, instructing him as to his duties, which Lincoln quietly ignored. A more important question was what was to be done with the Army of the Potomac. Should it remain at Harrison's landing, be reinforced and make another attempt on Richmond, or should it be brought nearer Washington, so that it could be united with the forces there in a forward movement such as Lincoln had proposed previous to the unfortunate venture on the Peninsula? McClellan was for remaining, and there was a difference of opinion among the corps commanders, so Lincoln went home the next day, and McClellan wrote to his wife that "he did not think his excellency profited much by his visit."

In the meantime the Army of Northern Virginia, under Banks, McDowell and Fremont, on June 26, had been consolidated under command of General Pope, who, as we have seen, had made a good record in the West. He took command without hesitation, but in a conversation with Chase said he had warned the President that he could not safely command the Army of Virginia if its success was to depend on the co-operation of McClellan, for he felt assured that his co-operation would fail at some time when it would be most important. That this fear was not without foundation was amply demonstrated, not especially in the Fitz John Porter case, for the evidence does not show that McClellan directly influenced his action, but in other instances. If any one doubts this let him read the story of Colonel Herman Haupt (N. H. Vol VI. 15,) who was most anxious to send need-

ed supplies to Pope, and was almost successfully thwarted by McClellan.

Shortly after assuming command Gen. Pope issued an order, saying among other things: "I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies; from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary and to beat him when he was found. I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases I am sorry to find so much in vogue amongst you. I hear constantly of 'taking strong positions and holding them,' of 'lines of retreat,' and of 'bases of supplies.' Let us discard such ideas. Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves," etc. This, though sounding very much like gasconade, was intended to infuse a new spirit into the Eastern troops. But the expressions were ill-timed, the inferences unjust, and the result unfortunate. Instead of inspiring confidence, it created distrust and resentment, which were to make themselves felt before long. Vigorous orders were also issued to punish communities which encouraged bushwhacking, permitting foraging off of the country, and compelling residents to take the oath of allegiance or go outside the lines. The latter was never enforced to any extent, and was no doubt issued as a ready means of getting rid of the local spies who infested the army and betrayed its movements to the enemy. Stanton is charged with being the author of all these orders which, as then carried out, were not contrary

to the rules of modern warfare. Sheridan afterwards did much more ruthless work than Pope in the Shenandoah Valley without criticism. On July 4, Pope wrote to McClellan, offering to co-operate with him, saying: "Your position on the James River places the whole of the enemy's force around Richmond between yourself and Washington. Were I to move with my command direct on Richmond, I must fight the whole forces of the enemy before I could join you, and at so great a distance from you as to be beyond any assistance from your army. If my command be embarked and sent to you by James River, the enemy would be in Washington before it had even accomplished the journey. (Corroborated by Grant.) Under these circumstances my position here is difficult and embarrassing, and whilst I am anxious to render you all the assistance in my power, the imperative necessity of insuring the safety of the capital must control my operations."

McClellan replied favorably, saying his army would fight better than it ever did before, but replying was the extent of his efforts. He never moved in any direction, and in order to bring the armies under one head, Halleck was called from the West to assume general command of all the armies. He arrived in Washington on the 23rd, and for awhile Stanton disappears from the war correspondence, which was carried on between Halleck and McClellan.

On the 20th McClellan wrote that Jackson's troops had been leaving Richmond for three days by rail, but he made no demonstration which might stop them. Halleck visited McClellan at Harrison's landing on the 25th, and reported to Stanton two days

after that McClellan suggested crossing the James and attacking Petersburg, cutting off communication with the South, but he finally concluded this was impracticable. Halleck urged a concentration with Pope, but McClellan said with 30,000 reinforcements he could attack Richmond with good chances. Halleck promised 20,000 and said if he could not move on Richmond he must withdraw from the James River to a point where he could unite with Pope. McClellan preferred to withdraw, but the next morning he informed Halleck that he would attack Richmond with these reinforcements. On the 30th he concluded that the enemy was being reinforced, and then began an epistolary bombardment similar to that before showered on Lincoln and Stanton. He wrote a long political letter similar to the one already given Lincoln, and was clearly grooming for the Presidential candidacy of the peace at any price party. Even Halleck's patience began to be exhausted, and on the 30th he ordered McClellan to send away his sick, and on August 3rd directed him to transfer his army to Aquia Creek, a few miles below Washington on the Potomac, a proceeding which he did not begin until the 14th, eleven days later. While this was going on he did not forget his usual letters to his wife, in which Halleck became the bete noir instead of Stanton. His comment on the order to go to Aquia Creek was: "Halleck has begun to show his cloven foot already." On August 8th he wrote: "I will issue tomorrow an order giving my comments on Mr. John Pope. I will strike square in the teeth of all his infamous orders, and give directly the reverse instructions to my army, forbid all pillaging and stealing, and take the highest

Christian ground for the conduct of the war. Let the Government gainsay it if they dare."

Those "infamous orders" were the ones referred to above. Later he says: "Halleck is turning out just like the rest of the herd." With the order to go to Aquia Creek in his pocket, he writes: "I hope to be ready tomorrow afternoon to move forward in the direction of Richmond. I will try to catch or thrash Longstreet, and then, if the chance offers, follow into Richmond while they are lamming away at Pope. * * I am satisfied the dolts at Washington are bent on my destruction, if it is possible for them to accomplish it."

A peremptory order from Halleck disturbed these meditations, but did not make him move. On August 11 he wrote: "I suppose Pope has his hands full today. He is probably being hard pressed by Jackson," whom he had allowed to leave Richmond. On the 22nd he wrote: "I think they are all pretty well scared at Washington, probably with good reason." He arrived at Aquia Creek on the 24th, just 21 days after receiving orders to that effect. One objection which McClellan made to the transfer of his army to Aquia Creek was that it was thereby removed farther from Richmond. There might have been some point in this had he manifested any disposition to move on Richmond, but he had been at Harrison's landing for nearly two months without taking any steps either to reduce Richmond or making any demonstrations towards preventing the forces leaving that city to attack Pope. The difference in distance was inconsiderable, it could easily be marched in two days, but the main obstacle was the same in both cases, namely,

Lee's army. On the other hand the sanitary conditions were better at Aquia, supplies could be sent without the long detour by James river, and above all the army would be in a position to reinforce Pope, who was in danger, which afterwards proved very real, of being overwhelmed before help could reach him. It had been over a year since McClellan had been placed in command of the army, he had never been in a battle himself, and there was nothing to show except a mournful record of disasters.

McClellan reported for duty at Alexandria on August 27th, 1862. Pope's difficulties were beginning, but he was apparently holding his own with the assistance of 20,500 men from the Army of the Potomac who had been transferred before McClellan's arrival. It is significant that none reached him afterwards. As early as August 22 McClellan wrote to his wife: "I see that the Pope bubble is likely to be suddenly collapsed. Stonewall Jackson is after him, and the young man who wanted to teach me the art of war will in less than a week either be in full retreat, or badly whipped."

These cheerful anticipations were not immediately realized, and on his arrival at Alexandria McClellan was ordered to send out Franklin's corps by forced marches, and an order was sent the next day directly to Franklin, who waited for instructions from McClellan. He was also ordered to send Sumner's corps, and late that day replied as follows:

"Your dispatch received. Neither Franklin's nor Sumner's corps is now in a condition to move and fight a battle. It would be a sacrifice to send them out now."

Later in testifying before the Committee on conduct of the war Gen. Sumner declared, "If I had been ordered to advance right on from Alexandria by the Little River turnpike I should have been in that second Bull Run battle with my whole force."

Halleck, whose large stock of patience seems by this time to have been more than exhausted peremptorily ordered the moving of Franklin's corps, ready or not ready. "If we delay too long to get ready, there will be no necessity to go out at all, for Pope will either be defeated, or victorious without our aid."

The corps started, and then began a series of telegrams about lack of transportation facilities, and further inquiries as to how far they should go, to which Halleck replied, "I want Franklin's corps to go far enough to find out something about the enemy. * * * I am tired of guesses." In disobedience to this and other orders the corps was halted en route, and at 11 A. M. on the 30th Halleck ordered Franklin and Sumner "to join Pope as promptly as possible." They reached their destination after Pope's army was crushed, and McClellan's expectations, or shall we say hopes, were fully realized.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this memoir to discuss the Fitz John Porter affair here; whatever may be the merits or demerits of that case it is apparent that the underlying cause of Pope's slaughter must be ascribed to a higher source.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD STORY.

McClellan and Halleck—Delays and Disobedience to Orders—Removal Demanded—Improving Defenses of Washington—Battle of Antietam and Escape of Lee—McClellan Superseded by Burnside—Battle of Fredericksburg—Bloodiest Charge in History.

As previously stated Stanton was not a party to the protracted correspondence which was carried on during July and August between Halleck and his recalcitrant subordinate, but subsequent events were not needed to show that he was keeping a watch on the situation. Doubtless concluding by August 28th that matters had gone far enough to demand some decisive action, on that day he addressed a letter to Halleck propounding the following inquiries:

1st. At what date did you first order the general commanding the Army of the Potomac to move from the James River.

2d. Whether that order was or was not obeyed according to its purport with the promptness which, in your judgment, the national safety required, and at what date the movement commenced.

3d. What order has been given recently for the movement of Franklin's corps, and whether it was obeyed as promptly as the national safety required.

General Halleck replied:

First. That on the 30th of July I directed General McClellan to send away his sick as quickly as possible, preparatory to his moving in some direction. Receiving no answer the order was repeated on August 2. On the 3rd of August I directed him to withdraw his entire army from Harrison's Landing and bring it to Aquia Creek.

Second. That the order was not obeyed with the promptness I expected and the national safety in my opinion required. It will be seen from my telegraphic correspondence that General McClellan protested against the movement, and that it was not actually commenced until the 14th inst.

In answer to the third question Halleck presented the dispatches partially quoted above. To cap the climax on that very day McClellan sent the following to President Lincoln, apparently ignoring Halleck:

I am clear that one of two courses should be adopted. First, to concentrate all our available forces to open communication with Pope. Second, to leave Pope to get out of his scrape, and at once use all our means to make the capital perfectly safe.

The cold bloodedness of the latter proposition was certainly worthy of a Persian satrap, but it had the opposite effect from that intended, in at least one quarter. Stanton saw that the time had come for action, and prepared a vigorous arraignment of McClellan for incompetency and disobedience of orders, imperiling the National existence, to be presented to the President, and recommending immediate removal. It was at once signed by Stanton and Chase, the latter suggesting some modifications, and also by Smith, of the Interior Department, and Attorney General Bates. Welles declined to sign the first paper because he thought it disrespectful to the President, although he approved the object. Chase in his diary gives the following account of this transaction:

The Secretary of War called on me in reference to General McClellan. He has long believed, and so have I, that General McClellan ought not to be trusted with the command of the army of the Union, and the events of the last few days have greatly strengthened our judgment. * * Judge Bates called, and we conversed in regard to General McClellan, he concurring in our judgment. Afterwards I went to the War Department,

where Watson showed me a paper expressing it. I suggested modifications, and we both signed the paper. I then took it to Ssecretary Welles, who concurred in our judgment, but thought the paper not exactly right, and did not sign it. Returned the paper to Stanton. Promised report from General Halleck was not made.

In a subsequent letter Mr. Chase says:

No one gave to General McClellan more unreserved confidence than I. It was withdrawn only when painfully convinced that it was not warranted. Then, for a long time, I hoped it might be restored, but failure succeeded failure and mistake—to use the mildest word—mistake. I am now thoroughly satisfied that he ought no longer to be intrusted with the command of any army of the United States.

Nicolay and Hay do not mention the presentation of this paper to Mr. Lincoln, and Mr. Gorham says he did not see it. Mr. Flower, however, states the contrary, and upon the authority of Major Johnson gives a circumstantial account of Mr. Lincoln's examination of all the papers at the War office, concluding to not make them public for political reasons, and instead of removing McClellan, simply deprived him of the control of the army by transferring it to other commands, his own comment being, "He has acted badly towards Pope; he really wanted him to fail."

Later news from Pope being to the effect that his army was not only defeated, but badly routed, it was evident that measures must be taken at once for the protection of the Capital. McClellan, at Alexandria, evidently considered the situation very serious, for he writes to his wife: "I do not regard Washington as safe against the rebels. If I can quietly slip over there I will send your silver off." It is satisfactory to know that it was not found necessary to take this

radical action, and that the silver was not molested.

On the morning of September 2, Mr. Lincoln, without consulting any member of his Cabinet, decided to place McClellan in charge of the army and defenses around Washington, virtually restoring him to command. Of the Cabinet meeting of that day Secretary Chase writes:

Cabinet met, but neither the President nor Secretary of War was present. F. W. Seward (the Secretary of State being out of town) said nothing. All others agreed that we needed a change in the commander of the army. Mr. Blair referred to the support he had constantly given to McClellan, but confessed that he now thought he could not wisely be trusted with the chief command. Mr. Bates was very decided against his competency, and Mr. Smith equally so. Mr. Welles was of the same judgment, thought less positive in expression. After some time while the talk was going on, the President came in, saying, that not seeing much for a Cabinet meeting to-day, he had been talking at the department and headquarters about the war. The Secretary of War came in. In answer to some inquiry the fact was stated by the President or the Secretary, that McClellan had been placed in command of the forces to defend the capital—or rather, to use the President's own words, "he had set him to putting these troops into the fortifications about Washington," believing that he could do that thing better than any other man. I remarked that this could be done equally well by the engineer who constructed the forts, and that putting General McClellan in command for this purpose was equivalent to making him second in command of the entire army. The Secretary of War said that no one was now responsible for the defense of the capital, that the order to McClellan was given by the President direct to McClellan, and that General Halleck considered himself relieved from responsibility although he acquiesced and approved the order; that McClellan could now shield himself, should anything go wrong, under Halleck, while Halleck could and would disclaim all responsibility for the order given. * * The President said it distressed him exceedingly to find himself differing on such a point from the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury; that he would gladly resign his place; but he could not see who could do the work wanted as well as

McClellan. I named Hooker or Sumner or Burnside, either of whom could do the work better.

Stanton was so opposed to the whole scheme that the usual direction, "By order of the Secretary of War," was stricken from the order, which read, "By Order of Major General Halleck," although Halleck stated it was not his act, and he did not know of the President's decision in the matter until he himself announced it to McClellan. To do the latter justice, he set to work at what was evidently congenial employment, at organizing brigades, collecting material and putting things in order. To be sure, as Secretary Chase said, any good engineer could have done this work, and the President's idea was no doubt to allay the dissatisfaction in the army whose officers at least mostly stuck to McClellan, and to prevent political agitators in the North from making a martyr of him.

While this congenial employment was going on, the country was startled by the intelligence that Lee had crossed the Potomac on September 5 near where the unfortunate disaster at Ball's Bluff had occurred the year before, and was invading Maryland with an army of 60,000 trained veterans. Harper's Ferry, farther up the river, was held by a force of 12,500 men, which was now entirely cut off from Washington, but which rendered effective service, as we shall see later. Lee had several objects in invading Maryland. One no doubt was to frighten the Federal forces from the defense of Washington, a second was to recruit his force from uprisings in that state, and a third was to threaten the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia and Harrisburg, and with his victorious army dictate terms of peace on Northern soil. About the same time Bragg invaded Kentucky, threatening the

cities of Cincinnati and Louisville, as part of the same general design. The first of these designs was attained. Lincoln's peremptory order to McClellan, "You must find and hurt this enemy now," admitted of no quibbling. But the second was a distinct disappointment. The "oppressed" people of Maryland manifested no disposition to rise, would not take Confederate money in pay for provisions, and instead of welcoming the invaders gave them a very cold shoulder indeed. While the iconoclasts have relegated Whittier's Barbara Frietchie story to the realm of fable along with William Tell and other legends, yet it no doubt faithfully represented the sentiment of the people of Frederick and vicinity. It was not difficult to start McClellan, but to keep him moving with any degree of speed was another matter, and he did not arrive at Frederick until the 12th. Fortunately, Lee had been delayed by the stubborn resistance at Harper's Ferry, and on the next day an order of Gen. Lee's fell into McClellan's hands, disclosing the fact that the rebel force had been divided, about half still engaged at Harper's Ferry and the other half in the front. Here was a great chance to crush the enemy in detail. What did McClellan do? Practically nothing. The Union forces gained a victory at South Mountain on the 14th, Harper's Ferry surrendered on the 15th, and on the 17th the Confederate forces were reunited. General Longstreet says of these proceedings:

He (McClellan) lost a great opportunity here on the Sharpsburg field. No general could ask for a better. Commanding a greatly superior army, opposing an enemy divided by the Potomac, the Shenandoah, and the Blue Ridge, into four weak isolated parts, whose locations he absolutely knew from General Lee's dispatches, which had actually fallen into his hands, Mc-

McClellan's failure, not only to relieve Harper's Ferry, but to destroy at least one of the segments of General Lee's army must be considered about the most disastrous failure of the war on either side.

The battle of Antietam on the 17th was one of the most desperate of the war, the losses being about the same on either side, and resulted in a Union victory, although Porter's corps of 35,000 was never brought into action. McClellan was urged by his generals to renew the battle on the 18th, when there was a prospect of capturing Lee's army, or at least the major portion, but he evidently thought he had done enough in checking the advance, and the Confederates, to their own great surprise, were allowed to retreat quietly across the Potomac, notwithstanding the War Department used every effort successfully to send McClellan additional troops, supplies and ammunition. On the 20th Halleck telegraphed McClellan for information as to his movements, to which he responded with a complaint of fault finding. He then asked for twenty additional regiments, and wanted to build a double track bridge across the Potomac before he would advance. Halleck insisted on knowing his plans before embarking in such an enterprise, and received the information that he would stay where he was and wait for Lee to come at him again! Finally, on October 1, President Lincoln visited him to urge him to move, but with no better result, and finally a peremptory order was issued on October 6th by Halleck, with the concurrence of the President and Secretary, to cross the Potomac and drive the enemy South. He did not move until the 26th, and in the meantime there was a rebel cavalry raid into Pennsylvania as far as Chambersburg, which was burn-

ed to the ground. McClellan promised to cut off their retreat, and when he failed to do so, complained that it was for lack of horses. This was re-echoed in certain newspapers, whereupon Stanton addressed the following to Quartermaster General Meigs:

General complaint is made by General McClellan of the inadequate supply of cavalry horses for his command. Your authority has been for a long time unrestricted in that regard, and you are expected to spare no effort to secure an adequate supply. You will please report what efforts have been made and are now making by your department for that purpose, and whether any and what authority, aid or instructions can be given by the Secretary of War to accomplish the object.

General Meigs, whose reliability has never been questioned, reported that between September 1 and October 11, he had supplied McClellan with 8,754 horses, an average of 1,459 a week, instead of 150 as McClellan had reported to Halleck. But now a new trouble arose, as indicated by the following note from Stanton to Meigs:

It has been publicly alleged that the army has been unable to move for want of shoes, which it is the duty of the quartermaster's department to furnish. You will please report whether there has been any failure or neglect to furnish shoes or other supplies to that army, or meet promptly any requisition for its supply upon your department.

General Meigs replied:

Ten days ago I was assured that every such requisition had been filled and forwarded. Within the last two days, however, new and large requisitions have been received, which are being shipped as rapidly as possible.

Then Halleck took a hand, and after a thorough investigation reported to the Secretary of War on Oc-

tober 28th that: "In my opinion there has been no such want of supplies in the army under General McClellan as to prevent his compliance with the orders to advance against the enemy."

In the meantime McClellan seems to have found a new objection, which provoked the following from the ever patient Lincoln: "I have just read your dispatch about sore tongue and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?"

McClellan's reply was, "making reconnoissances, scouting and picketing," which did not prevent rebel cavalry from traveling all around him, and Lee from leisurely retiring to Culpepper Court House. Finally, his stock of stationery apparently becoming exhausted, McClellan began to move, and by November 1 was safely across the river, just 44 days behind Lee's army. The Union forces reached Warrenton about 40 miles southwest of Washington and 10 miles north of Culpepper Court House on November 7, 51 days after the battle of Antietam and 30 days after the peremptory order to move. According to Nicolay and Hay, Mr. Lincoln had made up his mind without communicating his purpose to any one that if McClellan should permit Lee to cross the Blue Ridge and place himself between Richmond and the Army of the Potomac, he would remove him from command. When this occurred, clearly through inexcusable delays and disobedience of orders, he was relieved from his command on November 7, and directed to report to Trenton, N. J. General Burnside was ordered to supersede him, at whose request he remained with the army until the 10th, when he terminated his military

career. In his book he makes this comment, which speaks for itself:

The order depriving me of the command created an immense deal of feeling in the army. So much so that many were in favor of my refusing to obey the order, and of marching on Washington and taking possession of the Government.

In a second letter to his old pastor, Rev. Herman Dyer, Stanton gives the following succinct review of events of the preceding weeks:

Dear Sir: Your note of the 11th inst. has remained unanswered because of the pressure of business which has left me neither time nor strength to respond. When General McClellan failed to obey the order of the President to move against the enemy, given on the 6th of October, I thought he ought to be removed on the spot. Nearly a month's time—enough to have had a victorious campaign—was lost by his disobedience of orders. When his creatures and those who are enemies of the country undertook to apologize for his delay by the false pretense that he had needed supplies that were withheld from him by the War Department, my duty to the country required the exposure of the falsehood, and I demanded a report on the subject from the general-in-chief. It is not my fault that he was not removed before the New York election, after his disobedience of orders. The loss of three weeks' time rests not on my shoulders. In respect to any combination by Mr. Chase, Mr. Seward and myself against General McClellan, it is utterly false, for reasons needless to mention; fire and water would as soon combine. Each does his duty as he deems right. In respect to the imputation of selfish or ambitious motives, denial is useless. Those who make this imputation do it ignorant of my principles of action, or with prejudiced feelings, and, like all other public men, I must expect and patiently bear misconception and false report.

In respect to the present position of affairs all I can say is that the whole power of the Government is being put forth with more vigor and I think more earnestness on the part of military commanders than at any former period. Treason is encouraged in the Northern States by the just discontent of the people. But believing our National destiny is as immediately

in the hands of the Most High as ever was the children of Israel, I am not only undismayed but full of hope.

For myself, turning neither to the right hand nor the left, serving no man and at enmity with none, I shall strive to perform my whole duty in the great work before us. Mistakes and faults I no doubt may commit, but the purpose of my action shall be single to the public good.

Burnside was a personal friend of McClellan, and no doubt this had something to do with his appointment. But beyond that fact he had made a good record, and his loyalty and integrity were unquestioned; moreover, he was known to be a soldier of push and vigor. He was diffident about assuming command, mistrusted his ability to handle a large army, but when ordered to take the position promptly obeyed. He moved his army down the north bank of the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg, where Lee was strongly intrenched with 78,000 men. Lincoln now considered it wise to caution his too impetuous general, in place of familiar proddings of the past years. But a front attack was determined upon, and on December 11 pontoon bridges were thrown across the river, on which the corps of Sumner and Franklin passed, Hooker remaining in reserve on the north side. There was a possible chance of turning Lee's right, but it was not embraced, and on the 13th the army was ordered to seize Mary's Heights, at the bottom of which was a stone wall and trench lined with infantry and the crest crowned with batteries. Longstreet's superintendent of artillery said, "we cover the ground so well that we will comb it as with a fine-tooth comb. A chicken could not live on that field when we open on it." The Old Guard at Waterloo, the 600 at Balaclava, the Pickett charge at Gettysburg have all been celebrated in story, but not one of them

can be compared with the work done that day at Fredericksburg. There was no dash, no hurrah, but a steady, unbroken march into a sheet of deadly flame, before which the ranks melted like snow in summer. "Six times did the enemy," says Lee, "notwithstanding the havoc caused by our batteries, press on with great determination to the foot of the hill, but here, encountering the deadly fire of our infantry, his columns were broken." Even "Fighting" Joe Hooker begged Burnside to desist, but he ordered one more assault, and Humphreys led a bayonet charge with 4,500 troops who had never been in battle, and in a few minutes one-fourth were killed or wounded. Men could do no more, and they retired slowly and in good order, many of the soldiers "singing and hurrawing." It was the greatest display of valor the world had ever seen, but at frightful and useless cost. The Union loss was 12,653 and the Confederate 5,377. Burnside did not attempt to throw the blame on any one else, which he might have done with some show of justice, but assumed it himself. He did, however, prefer charges against Hooker and other commanders for undue criticisms made to the authorities at Washington.

It was certainly a time of deep depression. Bragg had been driven out of Kentucky, where his reception was as chilly as Lee's in Maryland, and Louisville and Cincinnati were no longer menaced. But the country seemed to be getting weary. The first flush of enthusiasm had subsided, and the fall elections had gone against the administration. The peace-at-any-price party was apparently making headway, and there was open talk of mediation by foreign powers.

CHAPTER X.

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION.

Stanton Grasps the Situation—Preliminary Work—Urges Lincoln's Proclamation and Constitutional Amendment—A Leading Factor for Freedom.

Mr. Flower at page 182 says: "Lincoln was elected on a strong pro-slavery platform, which he endorsed in his letter of acceptance." To put it mildly, this sentence is very misleading. Opposition to increasing demands of the slave power, which crystallized into the Republican party platform, did not propose to abrogate the implied contract entered into at the adoption of the Constitution that states in which slavery existed should be allowed to manage their "peculiar institution" in their own way without outside pressure or interference. When the Government was founded slavery was barred in the only Territory under National control, and, as already stated, it was the belief of leading statesmen both North and South that in time the evil would die out of its own weight, for that it was an incubus rather than advantage was generally conceded. The invention of the cotton gin and other circumstances prevented the realization of those expectations, and as additional territory was acquired by the United States the question of freedom or slavery in that territory became a burning one. It would take too long to tell of the Missouri compromise and its repeal, the Mexican war and subsequent addition of territory, the Kansas-Nebraska troubles, and a host of others, to-

gether with very objectionable clauses in the fugitive slave law, which placed every free black in the country at the mercy of a prejudiced magistrate or perjured testimony. Suffice it to say that the Republican platform of 1860, upon which Mr. Lincoln was elected, contained these resolutions:

That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our National territory ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

This does not read like a very strong pro-slavery platform, and Jefferson Davis can hardly be charged with going to war to enforce it. There was another resolution under the head of "Union" which read as follows:

That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

This was of course notice that the Republicans in-

tended to observe the compact of 1789 in good faith, and would countenance no lawless raids to break it. So when Lincoln declared in his inaugural that he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the states where it, then, existed, and believed he had no right to do so, it was only a reaffirmation of his oath of office and party pledges. Is it supposable that Mr. Stanton would have said or acted differently? Certainly not. In fact, we have very good evidence that he would not have supported the anti-slavery resolutions regarding the territories.

When Stanton became Secretary of War in January, 1862, nearly a year later, the situation had entirely changed. The South, rejecting the assurance, asserted over and over again, that there should be no outside interference with slavery where it existed, was in open rebellion. Furthermore, this very slave property was being used against the Government. Slaves not only cultivated the plantation while their owners went to the field, but were used in constructing fortifications and preparing munitions of war, in short, counted as so many white persons in whatever position they were placed. Stanton was quick to realize this, and urged that the Government take advantage of the situation, and use the negroes who were flocking to the Union lines, in whatever way would be most advantageous. He suggested to Lincoln that "those pledges had been wiped out by the very war they had been expected to avert." There was much force in this, for there is no principle better settled than that an appeal to arms wipes out all benefits or privileges arising out of any pre-existing compact. But Lincoln was not yet prepared to go that far. He had not lost all hope of bringing the Southern people to

reason, the North was not ready for an "abolition" war, and the so-called "Border States" were so sensitive on the subject that a radical policy might throw them into the arms of the rebellion. But while Lincoln hesitated to make any open demonstration against slavery, Stanton, no doubt with his knowledge, failed not to take the active advantage of the situation. Slaves belonging to Confederates flocked to the Union lines. Were our soldiers justified in returning them to their owners, who were in arms against the Government, and would use these very slaves against it? General Butler at Fortress Monroe made a shrewd solution of the problem. He declared slaves who came into his lines "contraband of war," the same as provisions, powder and guns, thus giving the dictionary makers a chance to enlarge the definition of that term. He was allowed to go ahead and utilize the fugitives. General Fremont issued a proclamation declaring all slaves in Missouri free, but the President revoked it, and also a subsequent proclamation by General Hunter regarding Georgia, Florida and South Carolina. He clearly announced his purpose to deal with the larger question of negro emancipation in his own time and way, and as a preliminary on March 6, 1862, asked Congress to co-operate financially with any state wishing to abolish slavery. Stanton predicted that this would come to nothing, and he was right. The border states of Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland, which would have been chiefly benefited, ignored it to their subsequent loss, and the people of the Northern States were reaching a point where they were not disposed to pay for emancipated slaves.

But Stanton had the original confiscation act, the

general rules of war and the principle that it is advisable to use any and every available non barbarous means to cripple or destroy an enemy in arms. Accordingly, on May 5, he wrote to General Mitchell fully justifying the latter in accepting the assistance of slaves, especially as the rebels had freely done so. Congress asked Stanton if he had permitted certain generals to utilize "slaves" and whether he had issued arms and clothing to them. He replied that he had no official information as to the organization of any regiment of "black men, fugitive slaves," and no authority had been given for such action, but that Hunter had been furnished with clothing and arms "without instructions as to where they should be used." It seems that Stanton proposed issuing a "confiscation" order on his own account, which would enable the military authorities to utilize the labor of fugitive slaves in any manner they saw fit, regarding all blacks coming into their lines as free, and was advised that such action was within the scope of his authority, but out of consideration for Mr. Lincoln he dropped the matter, for the time being. However, he induced Congress a couple of months later to pass an act embodying practically the same principle. Mr. Lincoln was inclined to veto the act on the ground that only life estates of rebels could be forfeited to the Government, and an explanatory resolution was passed in accordance with this view. This resolution was shortly after repealed. Gorham thus sums up the anti-slavery legislation of Congress to this time:

In August, 1861, it passed a law giving freedom to all slaves who had been employed by their masters in aid of military purposes. In March, 1862, it enacted an article of war dismissing from the service military officers who should surrender fugi-

tive slaves escaping into Federal camps within the enemy's lines. In April, 1862, it abolished slavery in the District of Columbia. In June, 1862, it prohibited slavery in all the territories, and in July, 1862, it authorized the organization of negro troops. The confiscation act of July, (17) 1862 freed all slaves of rebels who might come into the Federal lines or be captured from their masters.

It will be noticed that Mr. Stanton not only kept abreast of this legislation but a step or two ahead of it. He sustained General Butler in his efforts to utilize the blacks at New Orleans, and filled his requisitions for supplies and arms, quietly omitting the requirement heretofore made that the same were to be used for white soldiers only. General Butler gives this interesting account of his experience:

My black regiment were mustered regularly and entered active service the last of August, 1862. Perhaps I should add that before leaving for New Orleans, I talked with the President about the blacks. He said he was not prepared to discuss a negro policy. I then went to Mr. Stanton. His answer was prompt. He told me to hold, equip, employ, or arm all the negroes who came to me, if it should be all in my department.

By the latter part of July, 1862, President Lincoln came to the conclusion, which Stanton had been urging for weeks, that the time had come when the matter of taking a decisive stand on the slavery question should be openly considered. A Cabinet meeting was called for July 21, the matter of employing negroes as laborers was discussed and approved, colonization was mentioned but not considered to any extent, and arming negroes was urged by Stanton, Chase, and Seward, to which the President expressed himself adversely. The next day the President submitted the rough draft of a preliminary proclamation giving notice that unless the rebels in certain States

should lay down their arms and cease resistance by January 1st, following, all slaves within their lines should be declared free. Stanton and Bates warmly favored its immediate promulgation. Seward and Chase opposed, and Welles is marked blank in a memorandum made by Stanton. Lincoln concluded to withhold the proclamation for the present. The country was staggering under the disasters of the Peninsular campaign which it was hoped Pope would retrieve, and the President concluded that the best time to issue the proclamation was not on the heels of defeat but after a victory. Pope's defeat postponed further action in that direction, but Stanton went vigorously to work in employing colored laborers and authorizing Gen. Saxton, who succeeded Hunter, "to enlist, enroll, arm, equip and drill for military service for the purpose of guarding plantations and settlements occupied by the United States from invasion and to protect the inhabitants thereof from captivity and murder by the enemy, 5,000 negroes volunteers to be entitled to receive the same pay and rations as are allowed by law to volunteers in the service." General Saxton was authorized by every means in his power to withdraw from the enemy their labor force and population, and to spare no efforts, consistent with civilized warfare to weaken them and to establish the authority of the United States. Attention was also called to the recent act of Congress, conceived by Stanton, by which all men and boys received into the service of the United States, who may have been slaves of rebel masters, were, with their wives, mothers and children, declared to be forever free, and should be so treated.

It will be seen by these orders that Stanton was

anticipating the proclamation, and converting negro slaves with their families into free men, giving them the army uniform, and putting them into step with the music of the Union. And this work would have gone on had the proclamation never been issued. In fact as Major Johnson says, Stanton was the real emancipator, and gave the negro his place as a soldier in the Republic. But, as we shall see, his work did not end here.

Lincoln still had his proclamation in his pocket, and as late as September 13, said to a visiting delegation: "What good would a proclamation from me do? I do not want to issue a document that the whole world will see must be inoperative, like the Pope's bull against the comet." But on the 17th the battle of Antietam was fought, and if there was disappointment at its final outcome, yet the rebel forces had at least retired to their original lines of defense, and the opportunity to strike an effective blow was at least as favorable as it was likely to be for some time to come. So, on the 22d of September at a meeting of the Cabinet Mr. Lincoln presented the draft of his preliminary announcement of emancipation, which he had written at Major Eckert's desk in the cipher room of the War Department. Chase and Welles in their diaries have left quite a full report of that meeting. Mr. Stanton made a very emphatic speech sustaining the measure, and in closing said the act was so important and involved consequences so vast, that he hoped each member would give distinctly and unequivocally his own individual opinion, whatever that opinion might be. Mr. Chase, while this was a step farther than he had ever proposed, was prepared to support it. Mr. Blair was an eman-

cipationist, but feared the effect in the border states and even in the North. Seward suggested some verbal changes and Welles was ready to stand by it. Bates had favored it all along. It will be seen however that the emphatic unqualified supporter of the measure was Stanton, who had not only been urgent in its promulgation but, as we have seen, anticipated as far as possible its active operation. As is well known the September proclamation was not one of immediate or direct emancipation. It gave over three months grace, and declared that on the first day of January following the Executive would issue another proclamation declaring the freedom of all slaves in states and parts of states to be then designated as in rebellion against the authority of the United States. So far as the proclamation had any effect in inducing any return to National allegiance on the part of those in active rebellion it was not apparent, neither was there any noticeable change in the border states. In the Northern states the Democrats made signal gains, part of which at least were ascribed to the proclamation. Under instructions from the War Department the proclamation was published to the army for its guidance and instruction. McClellan issued an order in regard to it, deprecating hostile criticism but concluding, "The remedy for political errors, if any are committed, is to be found only in the action of the people at the polls." This was generally regarded as an invitation for his friends to vote against the proclamation and its author at the coming election, and there is plenty of evidence that he did not consider his order deprecating hostile discussion by officers and soldiers as applicable to himself.

President Lincoln in his message to Congress in December took no backward steps, but recommended a constitutional amendment providing compensation for every state which would abolish slavery before the year 1900, securing permanent freedom to all slaves who had been freed by the chances of war with compensation to loyal owners, and authorizing a plan of colonization. None of these suggestions was carried out, and the border states at least missed a great opportunity. On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln, according to promise, issued his proclamation, which Stanton had urged ever since coming into the Cabinet. In this connection it may be worth while to quote the following distinguished opinions:

Lincoln resisted military interference with slaves for months, and I do not believe there would have been any decisive action on emancipation except for Mr. Stanton. He created the Administration policy in reference to slaves and slavery.—[Gen. T. M. Vincent.

Mr. Stanton's impatience with the slowness of President Lincoln to proclaim emancipation was great, and was expressed more freely to the President than to anybody else. When the proclamation finally came, his delight and his gratitude to God were unbounded. Now, at last, he felt that no blunder and no disaster could avert the ultimate triumph of our arms.—[Chas. A. Dana.

From the moment Mr. Stanton became Secretary of War he never relaxed his efforts to destroy slavery in the rebellious territory as the surest and cheapest if not the only salvation of the Union and to win Mr. Lincoln over to that way of thinking.—[Gen. E. D. Townsend.

The proclamation designated the following states, the people whereof were in rebellion against the United States: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (partly) Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia (part-

ly) and declaring that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states, are, and henceforward forever shall be free.

It is idle at this day to discuss the legal effect of this proclamation. As Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy the President had an undoubted right to destroy or turn loose any property belonging to an armed enemy in time of war, and under the act of Congress to confiscate the same. Freeing the slaves of those in arms of course did not abolish slavery in a technical sense, only those who took advantage of the proclamation and reached the Union lines were actually freed, and there might have been some interesting legal questions to be solved at the close of the war. Stanton realized this as well as the President, and urged upon Congress the 13th amendment to the Constitution forever abolishing slavery within the limits of the United States. Although the Senate acted on this amendment on April 8, 1864, yet the House, owing to the set back in the fall of 1862, did not take a final vote until January 31, 1865, when it became evident to everybody that slavery and the Confederacy were about to die together. When Stanton received word of the passage of the amendment he ordered an artillery fire of one hundred guns while he read aloud the names of those who voted aye, declaring that history will embalm them in great honor.

Before the close of the war nearly 200,000 colored troops had been enlisted, and the Secretary spared no pains to have them placed on the same basis in regard to pay and protection as white soldiers. As soon as the proclamation was issued he appointed a Freedman's Inquiry Commission, and early in April,

1863, he dispatched Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas to the West to examine and report on the feasibility of recruiting and using negro soldiers generally. The mission was eminently successful. The recruiting of colored regiments, both infantry and artillery, went vigorously forward. From that time the work went steadily onward until thousands were under arms, and one of the first regiments to enter Richmond after its fall was composed of colored men wearing the Union blue. In May, 1863, Mr. Stanton established a bureau of colored volunteers as part of the War Department, which afterwards grew into the Freedman's Bureau.

The great work which Stanton performed on behalf of the negro race has been obscured by other events, but he stands second to none in his advocacy of freedom, or in active operations to make that freedom effective.

CHAPTER XI.

MAKING A NEW STATE.

Formation of West Virginia—Questions of Constitutionality and Expediency—Loyalty Recognized.

The State of West Virginia, bordering as it does on the Ohio river, being a close neighbor to Jefferson county and the State of Ohio, has always been an object of interest to the people northwest of the Ohio. This is especially the case as to the region around Steubenville, whose pioneers came largely from the Old Dominion and Maryland, whose territory was originally part of that same Mother of Presidents, a place which the daughter state seems to have taken. It is more than a mere coincidence that Ohio should have taken in later years the pre-eminence in National affairs formerly exercised by Virginia, because her people are largely of the same stock. When the God fearing pioneers landed at Jamestown, and through storm and stress developed the first free legislative assembly known to mankind, the first public schools with their subsequent higher education, and all the elements of government of the people, by the people, for the people, they builded wiser than they knew. It was the bravery of Virginia freemen which secured this Northwest Territory to the American Union, it was the help of Virginia votes which dedicated it to freedom, and it was the unselfishness of Virginia statesmen and people which relinquished this vast domain to the National Government, thus

promoting a practical settlement of the conflicting territorial claims of the various states. Had her later statesmen of the eastern, especially of the tide-water region, remained true to their first instincts a different history might have been written. But it was not to be so. The Appalachian mountain range seemed to mark a division between the eastern and western sections of the state, and long before the civil war the two sections became divergent in ideas in interest and in policy. This was due to several causes but the more potent than all the others combined was slavery. The low, lying lands of the eastern division, with their tobacco culture and large plantations, were more dependent on slave labor than the mountain ranges and slopes of the western part, to say nothing of the new industry which had sprung up, namely, the breeding of slaves for the Southern market. At the outbreak of the war this latter industry was in full vigor, while along the Ohio river counties slavery had almost disappeared. As we have said, this antagonism existed before the Civil War, and had it not been for the Constitutional provision prohibiting the formation of a state out of another state without the consent of the Legislature thereof, a movement towards division would have no doubt been inaugurated long before the great conflict began. But the eastern section, having a preponderance of votes in the Legislature, made any effort of the kind hopeless. The war, however, soon changed the situation. Disregarding the academic question as to whether the states themselves were ever technically out of the Union, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton early took the reasonable and common sense view that whatever might be the

status of the state itself, its alleged government by making war against the Union had forfeited all claims to recognition, its supporters had disfranchised themselves, and hence any negotiations with it as a lawful government were an absurdity. The old state governments having been thus destroyed, two courses were open. First, to govern by military rule the territory occupied by our army in the revolted section; second, to re-establish civil government whenever a sufficient number of loyal citizens could be found to support and carry on the same. This was done in Louisiana and Tennessee, with some experimental efforts elsewhere. In some instances the proportion of loyal citizens who could be entrusted with the work was very small, but in Virginia it was very large, and had the so-called secession ordinance been submitted to a fair vote of the people it would undoubtedly have been defeated. But the machinations of the leaders forced the matter through the convention, and they proceeded to carry it into effect. The Unionists of the eastern section were not sufficiently strong in force or inclination to make successful resistance, but in the west it was otherwise. The old government of the state having been swept away, the western counties proceeded to reorganize the commonwealth by a convention which was held at Wheeling on June 19, 1861. Francis H. Pierpont was chosen Governor, who called on President Lincoln for protection, and loyal members of the Legislature assembled, filling the vacancies of those who refused to take the oath, by new elections. U. S. Senators were chosen who were admitted to Congress. This government be it

remembered acted for the whole state, although the part within the rebel lines was mostly unrepresented, and was recognized by every department of the National Government. The convention reassembled at Wheeling on August 20 and adopted an ordinance providing for a new state of thirty-nine counties to be called Kanawha. This ordinance was submitted to a vote of the people on the fourth Thursday of October, and received 18,408 votes to 781 against it. The delegates chosen at this election met at Wheeling on November 26 and adjourned on February 18, 1862, after framing a Constitution including forty counties and changing the name of the new state from Kanawha to West Virginia. On April 3, 1862, the Constitution was adopted by a vote of 18,862 in favor to 514 against it. Of course the consent of the Legislature had to be obtained, and on May 13 this was formally granted. Although there was some divergence in Congress as to the legality of these proceedings, the bill admitting West Virginia as a state passed the Senate on July 14, 1862 by a vote of 23 to 17, and the House on December 10 following by a vote of 96 to 55. When the bill came to President Lincoln for his signature he asked the members of his Cabinet for their views on two points. First, was it constitutional? Second, was it expedient? Seward, Chase and Stanton answered in the affirmative, and Welles, Blair and Bates in the negative, an equality of numbers, but certainly not of force or intellect. Mr. Chase argued the constitutional question at length, the whole matter turning on the legality of the Legislature which gave its consent. On this point he says:

The Legislature of Virginia, it may be admitted, did not contain many members from the eastern counties; it con-

tained, however, representatives from all counties whose inhabitants were not either rebels themselves, or dominated by greater numbers of rebels. It was the only legislature of the state known to the Union. If its consent was not valid no consent could be. If its consent was not valid, the Constitution, as to the people of West Virginia, has been so suspended by the rebellion that a most important right under it is utterly lost.

Mr. Stanton's opinion was brief and to the point:

The Constitution expressly authorizes a new state to be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of another state. The act of Congress is in pursuance of that authority. The measure is sanctioned by the legislature of the state within whose jurisdiction the new state is formed. When the new state is formed its consent can be given, and then all the requirements of the Constitution are complied with. I have been unable to perceive any point on which the act of Congress conflicts with the Constitution. By the erection of the new state the geographical boundary heretofore existing between the free and slave states will be broken, and the advantage of this upon every point of consideration surpasses all objections which have occurred to me on the question of expediency. Many prophetic dangers and evils might be specified, but it is safe to suppose that those who come after us will be as wise as ourselves, and if what we deem evils be really such, they will be avoided. The present good is real and substantial, the future may safely be left in the care of those whose duty and interest may be involved in any possible future measure of legislation.

The weak point of the objectors was they were willing to recognize the new Virginia government for every purpose except to give consent to the division. President Lincoln cut the Gordian knot by signing the bill on December 31, 1862. Other conditions were necessary to admission, and the new state government did not come into power until June 20, 1863, two years from the first action by the convention, so that the charge of undue haste could not be made. The new state contained 23,000 square miles

divided into 48 counties, a white population of 333,000 according to the census of 1860, and 12,000 colored. It has since rapidly advanced in wealth and population, and no court has ever disturbed the settlement of the question. The Pierpont government removed to Alexandria, which remained the recognized capital of the state of Virginia until the close of the war.

CHAPTER XII.

AN EVENTFUL YEAR.

Hooker Supersedes Burnside—Battle of Chancellorsville—Invasion of Pennsylvania—Meade Placed in Command—Gettysburg—Fruits of Victory Lost—Draft Riots—Fall Elections—Lincoln's Cheer for Stanton's Ward—Stanton's Rescue of Rosecrans—Meeting With Grant—Gives Him Full Command in the West—Becomes Head of the Army—Thomas Saved from Disgrace.

We left the Army of the Potomac resting on the north bank of the Rappahannock after the terrible battle of Fredericksburg. Although practically intact, its morale was seriously impaired, and many began to think that Lee was a second Napoleon and practically invincible. He was far from either, but that had to be demonstrated later. Hooker had been one of Burnside's severest critics, and it no doubt came as a surprise to the latter, when in January, 1863, he was superseded by his former corps commander, who by this time had recovered from the wounds received at Antietam. President Lincoln seems to have made this appointment on his own motion against the advice of Stanton. However, it was well received. Hooker had made a reputation as a fighter, and was a favorite with the army and the country. He soon had the army in good condition, and in April determined to take the offensive, as the terms of 23,000 of his troops would soon expire. He ordered three corps across the river thirty miles above Fredericksburg on April 27, and another to

make a feint a short distance below the town. On the night of April 30 four corps had assembled at Chancellorsville, a short distance south of the river, confident of victory the next day. They attacked Lee the following morning, encountering such vigorous resistance that Hooker seems to have lost his nerve, and ordered the troops to fall back. Gen. O. Howard is also charged with negligently permitting a flank attack. It is not necessary to give here the details of the battle of that and the following two days. Suffice it to say that Hooker was greatly outgeneraled and badly defeated, the Confederates suffering an irreparable loss in the fatal wounding of Stonewall Jackson by one of his own men. It may not be amiss to note here that Jackson advocated raising the black flag at the outbreak of the war and giving no quarter to the Federal "invaders." Details of the battle were slow in reaching the public, and the War Department was charged with holding back the news. To correct this impression and to set at rest groundless rumors Secretary Stanton on May 8, gave out the following:

The President and General-in-Chief have just returned from the Army of the Potomac. The principal operations of General Hooker failed, but there has been no serious disaster to the organization and efficiency of the troops. It is now occupying its former position on the Rappahannock, having recrossed the river without any loss in the movement. Not more than one-third of General Hooker's force was engaged. General Stoneman's operations have been a brilliant success. Part of his force advanced to within two miles of Richmond, and the enemy's communications have been cut in every direction. The Army of the Potomac will speedily resume offensive operations.

The depletion of the army by expiration of terms of enlisted men prevented any forward movement for

the time being, and early in June it was discovered that Lee had moved over into the Shenandoah Valley and was working northward. A cavalry force of 2,000 crossed the Potomac on the 15th and advanced to Chambersburg, Pa., and on the 24th Lee followed with his main army, occupying Gettysburg, York, Carlisle, Kingston and other points. A glance at the map discloses how close he was to Harrisburg, in fact Ewell's corps reached within three miles of that city, and engaged the outlying pickets called for its defense. The occupation of Harrisburg would cut the Pennsylvania Central railroad, the main line between New York and the West, and enable Lee to threaten both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. There was naturally great excitement in both cities, the population volunteered en masse to throw up the earthworks still visible at the Smoky City, and the community was converted into an armed camp. The President through Stanton called on Pennsylvania and adjoining states for 100,000 volunteers to repel the invasion, which was promptly responded to, but everybody realized that the main hope of turning back Lee and his veterans must lie in the battle scarred soldiers of the Army of the Potomac. There was actually a sentiment in some quarters in favor of recalling McClellan to command, but fortunately the Administration did not listen to any such proposition. Hooker crossed the Potomac on the heels of the Confederates at Edwards's Ferry, near Ball's Bluff, on the 26th. He wished to evacuate Harper's Ferry and take the garrison with him on his northward march, but Halleck would not consent, and on the 27th Hooker tendered his resignation which was accepted. Mr. Gorham relates a little inside history

of this prompt acceptance and the appointment of his successor, obtained from John Harper, of Pittsburgh, and indirectly from Mr. Stanton himself:

It was night in Washington. The President wore a gloomy face as he entered the War Department by the urgent request of Secretary Stanton. Neither spoke for awhile. Mr. Lincoln at last said: "Stanton, you want to speak to me; you have something to communicate; let us calmly counsel with each other; I am ready to listen." The Secretary replied: "Yes, I do want to say something to you. I want to tell you the trouble that oppresses me at this time; I'll not mince words, for I feel you want to know the worst." "I do," said Mr. Lincoln, "speak out then. I'll be a listener." Mr. Stanton in brief language told him that he dreaded the issue of the coming battle, with Lee's conscious ability and the animating spirit of his army, on the one side, and Hooker, a beaten general, commanding men who still remembered their defeat in Virginia, on the other. "In short," said Mr. Stanton, "I have not confidence in General Hooker, though his personal courage I do not question."

Lincoln asked if Stanton had any other General to suggest, and Meade was named. The President agreed and left the whole matter in Stanton's hands, who arranged every detail, notifying Meade of his appointment, rushing forward troops and supplies as he had done with McClellan at Antietam. We all know the result of the battle of Gettysburg, which has been denominated the high water mark of the rebellion, and the battles of July 1, 2 and 3, with their wavering successes and failures ended finally in the complete defeat of Lee's army. It began its retreat towards the south with depleted ranks and nearly out of ammunition; the wires were hot with dispatches from Washington urging vigorous pursuit and the capture of the rebel host which was now within the grasp of the victorious army. Vicksburg had fallen, and the capture or breaking up of Lee's army at this

time would have virtually ended the war. But it was Antietam over again. Lee's shattered regiments were allowed to march back into Virginia, there to reorganize, and fight Grant the next year. Mr. Stanton in a letter thus summarized the affair: "As long as General Meade remains in command he will receive the cordial support of the Department, but since the world began no man ever lost so great an opportunity of serving his country, as was lost by his neglecting to strike his adversary at Williamsport."

On November 19th of that year the Gettysburg cemetery was dedicated, and Lincoln made his immortal address.

While Gettysburg and Vicksburg shed bright rays of light on the situation in 1863, yet there were others that were not so encouraging. It became evident early in the year that volunteering or state drafts could not be depended on to keep the army to its maximum strength, and on March 3 a National enrollment and conscription act was passed, under which, in May, the President authorized a draft of 300,000 men. The Confederacy had adopted a much more drastic measure about a year before, which practically put the whole arm bearing population at the control of the military, and under which the armies of Virginia and the Mississippi Valley had been recruited to the full strength to which supplies could be furnished. Had every man in the North been intensely loyal there could hardly fail to be disputes in enforcing an act of this character. But not every man was loyal, there were many intensely disloyal, and thousands of persons acting individually or through Knights of the Golden Circle and similar organizations were ready to put any and every obsta-

cle possible in the way of the Government. In Indiana the situation was so serious that in January, 1863, Governor Morton telegraphed to President Lincoln that when the legislature met it would pass a resolution recognizing the Southern Confederacy. The legislature did not commit any such act, but hampered the Governor in every possible way, and proposed to take the military power of the state out of his hands. To prevent the passage of this measure the Union members absented themselves, thus breaking the quorum, in consequence of which no appropriation bills were passed and the state government was left without funds. Voluntary offerings by individuals helped to tide over the emergency, but needing \$250,000 additional Secretary Stanton made the Governor a disbursing agent for this amount taken from the National Treasury under an act of July 31, 1861, for the purchase of munitions of war to be used in states where rebellion "is or may be threatened." Morton remarked that if the cause failed they would be called to account for this, to which Stanton replied, "If the cause fails I do not wish to live."

The principal differences of opinions arose over the quotas assigned and credits to be given for previous enlistments. A clause allowing exemption on payment of \$300 gave great dissatisfaction, as it was claimed to be a discrimination in favor of the rich, who could thereby purchase immunity, while the poor man had to serve. When the act was passed recruits were obtainable for less than \$300 bounty, and the theory was that this amount would simply be a tax which would in effect secure volunteers in place of those who either for good or poor reasons preferred to remain at home. But the depreciation of the cur-

rency and the high price of substitutes defeated this object to a certain extent. Stanton opposed this clause while the bill was pending, but Congress insisted on its inclusion and he had to make the best of it. Most of the loyal communities went vigorously to work to raise their quotas, notably Steubenville and Jefferson county, and very little drafting was done here. Others submitted with good grace, but in localities where there was a strong Southern sympathy signs of resistance began to show themselves. In upwards of two hundred towns there were riots more or less serious, and calls came from all of them to the Secretary of War for assistance in enforcing the law. For a while it looked as though a considerable proportion of the army would have to be withdrawn from the field to take care of the fire in the rear. Fortunately the local authorities were generally able to cope with the situation save in New York City, where a riot broke out on July 11, that soon became beyond control. The discontent was fostered by the lukewarmness or open hostility of the state and city officers, Governor Seymour declaring that the draft was unexpected, fraudulent and should be deferred until its constitutionality should be established, which meant indefinite delay. For three days the city was at the mercy of a mob which, like outbreaks of this kind generally, attracted all the criminal elements at hand, and murder, outrage, looting and burning were rampant. Troops were ordered to New York by the Secretary of War, and the riot suppressed after a loss of 1,000 killed and wounded, and \$2,500,000 worth of property.

So far from the draft being unexpected by Governor Seymour he had been informed about it more

than two months previously by Stanton, who desired to consult him on the matter, and was later furnished with complete data of the number of men required by the Provost Marshal General. James T. Brady, a member of the New York bar wrote to Stanton suggesting that the Government propose to Seymour a submission of the constitutionality of the law to the New York Court of Appeals. Stanton replied that the Executive is bound in its ministerial measures to consider a law constitutional until decided otherwise by a proper tribunal which in this case was a Federal Court, and calling attention to the fact that if the National Executive must negotiate with state executives in relation to the execution of an act of Congress, then the problem which the rebellion desired to solve was already determined in its favor. In other words Governor Seymour stood on the same platform as Davis and his associates, and the National Government was in effect abolished by the acceptance of any such proposition. Stanton's reasoning was incontrovertible, and in the meantime Generals Dix and Canby having brought order out of chaos preparations were made for resuming the draft in New York where, in the words of Stanton, the rebellion was likely to have the same bad luck as at Vicksburg and other places. Detailed instructions were given General Dix, and no further disturbances followed.

In Pennsylvania Supreme Court Judge G. W. Woodward declared the conscription act unconstitutional, but a Federal Court, although the judges were Democrats, reversed that decision. Woodward was nominated for Governor against Andrew G. Curtin.

Gen. McClellan wrote a series of letters supporting Woodward, and he was badly beaten.

It is impossible to give here in detail the immense work Stanton did at this time in replenishing the armies, etc. The reader is referred to Flower's book, pages 240-248.

Another grievance of that year was the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, made necessary by the constant army of spies and traitors in the North, outbreaks like the New York riots, and thinly disguised hostility of certain local tribunals, which freed deserters and aided in resisting the draft. The Constitution specifically provides for such action, and in order that there might be no doubt as to where the authority was lodged Congress passed an act authorizing the President to suspend the writ whenever in his judgment the public safety required it. Accordingly on September 13, 1863, Secretary Stanton addressed a communication to the President reciting the condition of affairs, and desiring instructions for himself and the military authorities. So the President on the 15th issued a proclamation suspending the writ as against prisoners held by the military, naval or civil officers of the United States. The good effects of this action were soon apparent, although considerable capital was naturally made of it by the opposition in view of the approaching fall election.

Those elections were viewed with apprehension by all friends of the Union. The previous year New York had given a majority of 11,000 against the Administration; Pennsylvania 3,500; Ohio 5,760, and Illinois 16,000. Since then there had been repeated drafts on the patriotism of the people, the former General of the Army was in opposition to the Govern-

ment; in Ohio, Vallandigham had been arrested and exiled for giving aid and comfort to the rebellion by his incendiary speeches, and had been nominated by acclamation for Governor. From his safe refuge over the Canadian border he was issuing his pronouncements denouncing the Government, and in some sections at least there were enthusiastic meetings in his favor, although at Steubenville, Stanton's home, the meetings were the other way.

There had probably never up to that time been an election in this country where so much hinged on the result, which meant whether the war should be continued or abandoned. There was no doubting, however, when the returns came in. New York went 29,000 in favor of the Government, a change of 40,000, Pennsylvania gave 15,000, Illinois over 29,000, while Ohio, with the soldier vote, rolled up for sturdy John Brough the unprecedented majority of 101,098. The moral effect was greater than a battle won, for it meant no backing down.

In the War office that night were Lincoln and Stanton, receiving the news, when a telegram was received that the Fourth ward, Steubenville, then bounded by Market and Fourth streets and the Ohio river, had gone Union, and Lincoln proposed a cheer for "Stanton's ward." It had hitherto been strongly Democratic and was popularly known as the "Bloody Fourth." The Secretary afterwards sent the following telegram:

Washington, Oct. 14, Dr. John McCook: Accept my thanks for your telegrams. I am proud of my native town, and rejoice that the enemies of their country have been so signally rebuked. Give my cordial congratulations and thanks to my patriotic neighbors and friends.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

While the political campaign was going on in the North, and the Army of the Potomac resting in the East, Rosecrans, urged forward by Stanton and Halleck, had succeeded in working Bragg out of Middle Tennessee, and on September 9 occupied Chattanooga, one of the key cities of the Confederacy. Burnside had occupied Knoxville, where he found a loyal population among the mountaineers of East Tennessee. But Bragg outgeneraled Rosecrans, who seemed to have lost his nerve. The rebels were reinforced from Lee's and Buckner's armies until they outnumbered their opponents, and an indecisive battle was fought on September 19, followed by the terrible battle of Chickamauga the next day, where the losses were proportionately heavier than at Gettysburg. Rosecrans completely lost his head and followed the crowd of fugitives into Chattanooga. Charles A. Dana, whom Stanton had sent West to keep him advised on the situation, telegraphed that "Chickamauga is as fatal a name in our history as Bull Run." He would have been correct had it not been for General George H. Thomas, who held the left with 25,000 men against double his force, until night came, when, under orders from Rosecrans, he withdrew to Chattanooga, which was closely besieged by Bragg. Late in the evening of September 23 Stanton received a telegram saying that unless reinforcements were sent immediately, Chattanooga and East Tennessee, with the army of Rosecrans, would be lost. The Secretary revolved the situation in his mind, and reached the conclusion that the only relief that would be effectual would be to temporarily borrow 20,000 soldiers from Meade's army, which was then lying idle near Manassas, until reinforcements could reach

Rosecrans from Burnside at Knoxville and from Grant's Vicksburg army. On consulting Halleck as to the time required to make the transfer, the response was forty days. This was a dampener, but Stanton did not despair. He called a meeting of the Cabinet at midnight, and sent for President Lincoln, who was stopping at the Soldiers' Home outside the city.

There are several reports extant of what happened at that meeting, no doubt all substantially correct, but each giving some details not mentioned by the others. There has recently been published in *Scribner's Monthly* an extract from Chase's diary, in which he says:

It was about midnight, and I had just retired when the door bell rang and the message was brought to me, "The Secretary of War desires that you will come to the Department immediately and has sent a carriage for you."

"What can be the matter?" I said to myself as I hastily rose and dressed. "Has the enemy attacked Rosecrans? Has he captured him and his army? Has he driven our men across the Tennessee?"

When I reached the War Department I found Mr. Stanton there, silent and stern.

"Is there any bad news?" I asked.

"None," was the brief reply. General Halleck was present, and the President either was there already or soon came in; Mr. Seward also came. At length when we five were assembled Mr. Stanton began:

"I have invited this meeting because I am thoroughly convinced that something must be done, and done immediately, to insure the safety of the army under Rosecrans, and wish to have it considered and decided whether anything, and if anything, what shall be done?"

Then turning to Gen. Halleck he asked:

"What forces can Burnside send to Rosecrans at Chattanooga?"

Gen. Halleck replied, "20,000 men."

Stanton—"How soon?"

Halleck—"In ten days if not interrupted."

President—"Before ten days Burnside can put in enough to hold the place."

Halleck—"He can bring up 12,000 perhaps in eight days."

President—"When Burnside's men begin to arrive the place will be safe, but the pinch is now."

Stanton—"If the enemy presses or attacks Burnside, what then?"

Halleck—"Burnside must take his measures accordingly—fight or act defensively."

Stanton—"If the enemy has enough to detach a force against Burnside, and also attack Rosecrans?"

Halleck—"Rosecrans must be relieved otherwise."

Stanton—"When can Sherman relieve him?"

Halleck—"In about ten days, if already marched from Vicksburg. If not marched should come up the river and overland from Memphis. He has 20,000 or 25,000 men. Every available man is ordered forward and boats have gone down the river from Cairo to bring them up."

Stanton—"Then your estimate of what can be done by Sherman is only conjectural?"

Halleck—"Of course it is impossible to speak definitely in such a matter."

Stanton—"Can men be had from any other quarter?"

Halleck—"Perhaps a few from Kentucky—don't know how many. All are already ordered to Rosecrans."

Stanton—"Mr. President, I think it perfectly clear from what has been said that certain or even probable relief will reach Rosecrans from any quarter that has been named. I do not believe a man will get to him from Burnside or Sherman in time to be of any use in the emergency which is upon us. The army of the Potomac is doing nothing important, nor is it likely to be more actively employed. I propose therefore, to send 20,000 men from the army of the Potomac to Chattanooga under the command of General Hooker."

This proposition was objected to quite strongly by General Halleck and the President. Both expressed the belief that the troops could not be got through to Chattanooga, or near enough to be of essential service to the army of Rosecrans as soon as troops could be furnished from Burnside's or Sherman's com-

mand, and both were unwilling to withdraw troops from Meade. Mr. Stanton said that he had fully considered the question of practicability and should not have submitted his proposition had he not fully satisfied himself on that head by conference with the ablest railroad men of the country. General Halleck had given no definite assurance as to the time in which relief could be given by Sherman or Burnside. His nearest approach to definiteness was eight days by Burnside if uninterrupted by the enemy. Was not the enemy sure to interrupt? And was it not well known that activity by Burnside would involve the abandonment of East Tennessee, to which Burnside was strongly opposed and therefore extremely unwilling to move? Whereas if it should be determined to send men from the Army of the Potomac the order for the two corps could be given in the morning—by night the column would be entering Washington, the troops could be put in cars at once and in five days the advance might be entering Nashville.

"Why," said the President, "You can't get one corps into Washington in the time you fix for reaching Nashville."

Stanton—* * * added that as he saw himself overruled he would give up the point; and invited us all into the adjoining room where he had caused a light collation to be prepared.

Possibly the mellowing influence of the collation had some effect, for on the return Seward supported the proposition, Chase having already done so, and—

Finally the President said he would telegraph Meade in the morning, and if he did not propose an immediate movement the order for the two corps to move should be given at once to General Halleck. * * * The result is well known. The advance of Hooker's command reached Nashville in a week, frustrated the attempt to break up Rosecrans's communications and his army was saved. * * * The country does not know how much it owes Edwin M. Stanton for that night's work.

There are other accounts, some of them more graphic, of this famous meeting, but the above no doubt fairly represents the substance of what occurred. Chase says they went home about 2 o'clock, but that did not include Stanton, who with Lincoln,

remained at the War Department until after day-break. During the night telegrams had been sent to John W. Garrett, President of the B. & O. railroad, and Thomas A. Scott and Samuel M. Felton, of the Pennsylvania, calling them to Washington for information and management. At 3:30 A. M. word was sent to Dana that the troops would be started, during the early morning the railroad men were in Washington, orders were issued for a change of gauge on a Southern railroad, and the enterprise put in charge of Gen. D. C. McCallum, military director of railroads, with absolute "right of way" over everything.

At 2:30 a telegram had been sent to Meade to prepare the 11th and 12th corps to send to Washington, where cars would be ready for them the following day. He reported these corps were at the front and could not well be withdrawn and got ready in the time mentioned. However, at 11:30 he replied that every effort would be made, and at 9:10 P. M. on the 25th the 11th corps was in the cars and under way. Trains followed each other at intervals of half an hour, and the tremendous procession six miles in length was soon in full movement.

Then, for the first time in three days, the undaunted Secretary, who had been the mainspring of this wonderful project, laid down on his office sofa to take a little rest. The trains not only carried their own provisions, but cooks and a full commissary outfit, so there was no delay at eating points. The rebels burned a bridge on the B. & O. railroad, but the next morning General McCallum telegraphed to the War Department that its rebuilding "will be completed in a few minutes." Evidently those men were hustlers. On the afternoon of the 26th Col. Scott telegraphed

from Louisville that ferriage arrangements across the Ohio were completed, and as each train arrived at Jeffersonville, the soldiers boarded a steamer, where they found a hot meal, then they double quicked to the railway station, and the train pulled out for Nashville. The earlier trains were delayed slightly while Col. Scott was building a connecting railway link, made necessary by difference of gauge. The last train arrived at Chattanooga on October 6, the entire transfer having been made in eleven and a half days, and Rosecrans's army was saved. On October 11 General Hooker telegraphed to Stanton:

If you projected the movement of the 11th and 12th corps, you may justly claim the merit of having saved Chattanooga to us.

General Grant in his memoirs says of the situation: "A retreat at this time would have been a terrible disaster. It would not only have been the loss of a most important strategic position to us, but it would have been attended with the loss of all the artillery still left with the Army of the Cumberland, and the annihilation of that army itself, either by capture or demoralization."

Gen. Sherman, who certainly was not over friendly to Stanton, declares this transaction to be one of the two best examples known to himself of the transfer of large armies by rail from one theatre of action to another. The distance traversed was 1,233 miles, and the number of troops transported was 23,000.

It soon became evident that while Chattanooga was saved for the time, a change of commanders would be necessary to reap the full benefits of the brilliant movement which had recently been com-

pleted. We have already seen how the most unstinted resources in both men and supplies could be frittered away in the hands of an incompetent commander, and there was danger that the same thing would be repeated. On October 16, Dana wrote to the Secretary:

With plenty of zealous and energetic officers ready to do whatever can be done, all this precious time is lost because our dazed and mazy commander cannot perceive the catastrophe that is close upon us and fix his mind upon the means of preventing it. I never saw anything which seemed so lamentable and hopeless.

Notwithstanding his reinforcements, Rosecrans had allowed Bragg to coop him up in Chattanooga with the good prospect of starving him into surrender. Rosecrans's own dispatches were of the most gloomy order, and, as Dana said, he was evidently "dazed." Immediate action was imperative, and Secretary Stanton started on a special train for Louisville. General Grant was at Cairo, not having recovered from a fall from his horse at New Orleans two months before. He received an order to go to Louisville to meet an officer of the War Department. The "officer" was Stanton, who met Grant at Indianapolis, and dismissing his special train he and Grant went on together to Louisville. This was their first meeting. The situation was discussed en route, and Grant was given an order creating him commander of all the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi north of Banks's command in the Southwest. He was given the alternative of leaving the department commanders as they were or replacing Rosecrans by Thomas, and he accepted the latter. Grant says: "We reached Louisville after night, and, if I remem-

ber rightly, in a cold and drizzling rain. The Secretary of War told me afterwards that he caught a cold on that occasion from which he never expected to recover. He never did."

The two remained in Louisville the next day discussing military matters, and in the evening General, with Mrs. Grant, went out to call on some relatives. During his absence Stanton received a telegram from Dana at Chattanooga informing him that Rosecrans proposed retreating, which would mean the practical destruction of the army as an organized body. Stanton immediately sent for Grant, who returned about 11 P. M. Grant says:

I hastened to the room of the Secretary, and found him pacing the floor rapidly in his dressing gown. Saying that the retreat must be prevented, he showed me the dispatch. I immediately wrote an order, assuming command of the military division of the Mississippi; and telegraphed it to General Rosecrans. I then telegraphed to him the order from Washington, assigning Thomas to the command of the Army of the Cumberland; and to Thomas that he must hold Chattanooga at all hazards, informing him at the same time that I would be at the front as soon as possible. A prompt reply was received from Thomas saying, "We will hold the town till we starve." I appreciated the force of this dispatch later when I witnessed the condition of affairs which prompted it. It looked, indeed, as if but two courses were open, one to starve, the other to surrender, or be captured.

Grant reached Chattanooga on the 22nd. Sherman was assigned to the command of the Army of the Tennessee, and in five days the siege was raised. Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge and Chattanooga itself made a brilliant close to a year that threatened to end in disaster, and while the glory honestly belongs to the soldiers in the field, yet they would not have been in position to do that work had

it not been for the forethought and almost superhuman energy of the Secretary of War. Burnside was relieved at Knoxville, East Tennessee was freed from the enemy, and on December 20th Grant moved his headquarters to Nashville, leaving Thomas at Chattanooga.

We may add here that on February 26, 1864, Congress restored the office of Lieutenant General of the Army, to which Grant was nominated on March 1, and two days after he was ordered to Washington and his commission delivered to him in person by the President on March 9. General Sherman took chief command in the West. General Grant during the first part of the year made weekly visits to Washington to confer with the Secretary of War, and his opinion of that officer is thus expressed in a subsequent letter to Mr. Lincoln :

From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the present day I have never had cause of complaint, have never expressed or implied a complaint against the Administration or the Secretary of War for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty. Indeed since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you.

The keynote had been given Grant in the Vicksburg campaign. Some controversies having arisen concerning subordinate commanders, Stanton summarily settled the whole matter by the following telegram :

General Grant has full and absolute authority to enforce

his own commands, and to remove any person who, by ignorance, inaction, or any cause, interferes with or delays his operation. He has the full confidence of the Government; is expected to enforce his authority, and will be firmly and heartily supported; but he will be responsible for any failure to exert his powers.

In fact it was only Generals that had not been doing their duty who had any complaint to make of "interference" by the Secretary.

It would be foreign to our purpose to follow in detail the campaign of 1864. With Grant in the East and Sherman in the West, backed by all the resources at the command of the Government, there was now unity of purpose. General Sherman says "it was not till after both Gettysburg and Vicksburg that the war professionally began." Grant crossed the Rapidan on the night of May 3 and on the 5th and 6th came the battles of the Wilderness. Both sides claimed the victory but Grant moved forward instead of backward, fighting all the way.

It is worth while to call attention to the difference in the tone of dispatches from those formerly received from this army. Grant says, "I may be mistaken but I feel that our success over Lee's army is already assured. The promptness and rapidity with which you have forwarded reinforcements has contributed largely to the feeling of confidence inspired in our men, and to break down that of the enemy." Success was not quite so imminent as hoped, but this is but a sample of Grant's telegrams to the Secretary of War from that time until the end.

On June 2d occurred the battle of Cold Harbor, near where Fitz John Porter had fought the second of the Seven Days battle under McClellan in 1862.

It resulted in a bloody repulse, and Grant crossed to the south side of the James, below Richmond, in the direction of Petersburg, which was assaulted on June 16, 17 and 18, without success. The losses had been enormous, and the army was worn out. A period for rest and recruiting was needed.

During this period Early's corps had been detached from Lee's army, and coming down the Shenandoah crossed the Potomac at Shepherdstown and levied contributions on Maryland towns. On July 2, Gen. Lew Wallace met the enemy at Monocacy Bridge, near Washington. He was defeated but the stiff fight he put up possibly saved Washington from capture as the delay enabled troops to be gathered for its defense, everything having been depleted to help the Army of the Potomac. President Lincoln had gone out to the Soldiers' Home, but was sent for by the Secretary of War, who insisted on his immediate return to avoid danger of capture. Stanton had issued calls on the nearest Governors for prompt aid, and troops had been sent back by Grant, so that although Early came within sight of Washington the main object of his expedition failed. Stanton advised that Hunter, who was in command in the Shenandoah, be relieved but Grant did not act on the suggestion, and Early continued hovering around, incidentally making a raid into Pennsylvania and burning Chambersburg. On August 1, Sheridan was ordered to the Shenandoah, and when he got through there was nothing left of Early, and not much of the valley. In this connection however, there is a fact worth noting. Stanton has been held up as an example of unrelenting sternness and even cruelty towards

his foes, while our military commanders have been painted in opposite colors. On August 14, when Sheridan had fairly begun operations Lincoln telegraphed to Grant: "The Secretary of War and I concur that you had better confer with General Lee, and stipulate for a mutual discontinuance of house burning and other destruction of private property." There is no record of any action on this suggestion, and the only response was the following order to Sheridan on August 26: "Give the enemy no rest. Do all the damage to railroads and crops you can. Carry off stock of all descriptions, and negroes, so as to prevent further planting. If the war is to last another year, we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste."

Sheridan reported the instructions carried out to the letter, and Sherman followed the same plan in his march to the sea. Both campaigns were the result of military necessity and their apparent harshness is not to be condemned, but it should not be forgotten that during the fiercest days of the war Stanton, with Lincoln, was thinking of the sufferings of non-combatants, especially the women and children.

In the West Sherman was fighting his way towards Atlanta; Johnston, the Confederate Commander having been superseded by Hood. Atlanta surrendered on September 2, and on November 16, Sherman began his march to the sea, entering Savannah on December 21.

When Sherman cut loose from Atlanta he left General Geo. H. Thomas to take care of Hood's army which was in his rear. At that time it was not cer-

tain whether Hood would attempt to follow Sherman, or take advantage of his absence to recover Tennessee and perhaps Kentucky. Thomas had his headquarters at Nashville but his army, which had been largely employed in preserving Sherman's communications, was scattered all over the state, and the task of bringing the detachments together was difficult and dangerous in the face of Hood's united army, which was now evidently coming north. Grant does not seem to have been specially friendly towards Thomas after the battle of Shiloh and, towards December, began to be very impatient because he did not attack Hood, whose operations were each day more menacing. Finally on December 9th he sent a telegram to Halleck directing him to prepare an order relieving Thomas, and turning over his command to Schofield. Halleck prepared the order, but Lincoln and Stanton could not forget Thomas's splendid work at Chickamauga, Chattanooga and in fact all through the war, and hesitated about carrying out the directions until word could be received from Thomas in response to a telegram from Halleck on the 10th, in reference to the delay and Grant's dissatisfaction. On the 13th Grant wrote a second order relieving Thomas, and sent Gen. Logan with it to Nashville to be delivered in person if Thomas had not advanced when he arrived. A few hours later Grant concluded to go to Nashville himself and got as far as Washington, when he found the wires to Nashville were interrupted. A conference was held at the War Department that night between Lincoln, Stanton, Grant and Halleck, where Grant expressed his intention of going on to Nashville, meantime replacing Thomas by

Schofield. What follows is thus told by Mr. Bates:

Grant then wrote his third order removing Thomas, and although Lincoln and Stanton were strongly opposed to such action they were forced to consent because of Grant's urgent opportunity. The final order for the removal of Thomas was then handed to Eckert for transmission, Grant going to Willard's Hotel to prepare for his departure. Eckert says he then returned to the telegraph office, where in fact he had been on duty constantly day and night for nearly a week. After conversing with Pittsburgh he learned that the line to Nashville by one route had been repaired and that messages were being exchanged. With General Grant's final despatch in his hand Eckert was in a quandary. Should he put it on the wires or not? Recalling the protest of the President and the Secretary of War only an hour before, against the removal of Thomas, he concluded to hold the telegram until he could hear from Van Duzer (the Nashville operator.) So he waited for over an hour until finally at 11 P. M. (Dec. 15) the following telegram came in cipher, the translation being in my handwriting:

Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 14, 1864, 8 P. M.

Major Gen. H. W. Halleck, etc.—Your telegram of 12:30 P. M. to-day is received. The ice having melted away to-day, the enemy will be attacked to-morrow morning.

GEO. H. THOMAS.

Nashville, Tenn., Dec. 15, 1864, 10:30 P. M.

Maj. T. T. Eckert: Our line advanced and engaged the rebel line at 9 this A M. (Account of first day's victory.)

J. C. VAN DUZER.

Eckert says he ran down stairs with the two telegrams in his hand and started for Stanton's residence on K. street, in the ambulance, which was always in readiness at the door of the War Department. Stanton appeared at the second story window and called out "Is that you, Major? What news?" "Good news." was the answer. Stanton shouted "Hurrah," and Eckert says he could hear Mrs. Stanton and the children also shouting "Hurrah." The Secretary appeared at the front door in a few moments and rode with Eckert to the White House. The President was of course highly delighted to receive the news of Thomas's victory. While in the ambulance with Secretary Stanton on his way to the White House Eckert

took out of his pocket Grant's last order relieving Thomas and handed it to Stanton without saying a word. The Secretary asked whether it had been sent. Eckert replied, no, that he had held it on his own responsibility, partly because the wires were not working well at the time he received it from Grant, and partly because he wanted to hear further from Van Duzer, and he hoped to receive later information that the weather had moderated, thus allowing Thomas to begin his advance. The Major added: "Mr. Secretary, I fear that I have violated a military rule and have placed myself liable to be court-martialed." Secretary Stanton put his arm around Eckert's shoulder and said "Major, if they court martial you, they will have to court martial me. You are my confidential assistant, and in my absence were empowered to act in all telegraph matters as if you were the Secretary of War. The result shows you did right" While at the White House Stanton showed Grant's last order removing Thomas to the President, and told him Eckert had suppressed it. Lincoln replied that Eckert's action met with his hearty approval.

When Grant saw Van Duzer's dispatch he remarked, "I guess we will not go to Nashville." Logan heard of the victory at Louisville, and went no farther.

Thomas completely dispersed Hood's army, and it gave no further trouble, and as a reward Stanton on the 19th proposed Thomas's appointment as Major General in the regular army. Grant desired to wait for further returns, but soon gave his approval, and on December 24th, Thomas received his commission dating from December 15. As at the close of 1862, brilliant work in the West afforded some compensation for the apparently unsatisfactory condition of affairs in the East, although to shrewd observers the beginning of the end was in sight. In fact this was the last great battle of the war.

CHAPTER XIII.

A CANADIAN JUNTA.

Plots of Incendiarism and Murder—Outrages Circumvented—
Peace Mirages—Black's Duplicity—Military Precautions in
New York—Lincoln's Reelection.

Early in 1864 the rebel authorities concluded to establish a "Canadian Cabinet" nominally to look after the foreign interests of the Confederacy, but having for its real object purposes of a very different character. This object was to foment disturbances in the North, encourage raids over the border, plot risings of the Knights of the Golden Circle, Sons of Liberty and other treasonable organizations, release Confederate soldiers confined in Northern prisons, burn Northern cities, and, in fact do anything humane or inhumane to arrest the downward career of their falling cause. A special object was to bolster up the peace party of the North in every possible way, and as far as possible encourage that party by the aid of illegal voting at the fall elections. As if this were not enough a wild scheme of kidnapping President Lincoln was on the programme, and there is not the slightest doubt that the assassination of the President was the outcome of movements inaugurated by this junta. Jacob Thompson, ex-Secretary of the Interior and defaulter, was selected by Jefferson Davis as the head of this combination, and with him were associated C. C. Clay, Jr., James P. Holcombe and George N. Saunders. Their headquarters

were at Niagara Falls, and an "underground" postal service was inaugurated between there and Washington, which, however suffered considerable interruption from the vigilant ciphergrammers of the War Department. Their efforts in the direction of uprisings, releasing prisoners, or even raids (with one exception) were largely abortive, but they were more successful in deluding a certain class of Northerners into the belief that through their efforts there might be tangible peace negotiations. There is no doubt the country was getting weary of the war. True the bounds of the Confederacy had been pushed back considerably during the previous two years, and there was not a state in some quarter of which the National standard had not been planted. But it was also true that for the most part the acquired territory and its people were only submissive while the army was present, there was no authority beyond the range of the guns, and outwardly at least the rebellion presented as bold a front as ever. Grant had been checked in Virginia with terrible slaughter, and while Sherman was making progress in the West, there were not wanting prophets to predict that should he even capture Atlanta it would prove his Moscow. Volunteering, even under the stimulus of large bounties had almost ceased, and the morale of the new recruits had perceptibly lowered. The draft, always unpopular, had to be resorted to, to fill our armies depleted by losses and expiration of enlistment terms. The gold premium reached 185, the highest during the war, and the financial situation was most serious. Lincoln had been renominated by a Convention which voiced the loyal sentiment of the country in no uncer-

tain terms, but even he, at times, was very despondent of his re-election which he only figured out by the margin of three uncertain Electoral votes. There is no evidence that this despondency was shared by Stanton, but his was such a nature that a desperate situation only incited him to stronger efforts. In such a condition of affairs it is not surprising that well meaning, but not so well balanced people nibbled at the bait adroitly held out that some satisfactory terms of peace might be reached. Among these was Horace Greeley, who entered into correspondence with the "Commissioners" and also with the President, finally securing from the latter the following:

July 18, 1864.

To Whom it May Concern.

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the executive government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

There is no doubt the President prepared the above after consultation with Stanton, who was particularly careful not to fall into any trap which would involve a formal recognition of the Confederate government. Armed with this Greeley called on the commissioners, when he soon found they had no authority such as was required, they were simply playing to the galleries, in other words, to the peace party. Greeley shortly gave up the job in disgust, plaintively writing to President Lincoln: "Since

I learn by sad experience at Niagara that my dispatches go to the War Department before reaching you," and cheerfully predicting an overwhelming defeat for the National Administration at the coming elections.

Quite a sensation was caused early this year by the publication in two New York papers of a bogus proclamation purporting to be signed by the President and Secretary of State appointing a day of fasting and prayer and calling for 400,000 men. Gen. Dix in command at New York suspected the proclamation was a forgery and telegraphed to Washington for information. Stanton replied that "the spurious proclamation was a base and treasonable forgery," and editors of the *World* and *Journal of Commerce*, the papers in which the proclamation was published, were placed under arrest. Stanton refused to release them until the author of the forgery was discovered, and he also ordered Gen. Dix to seize the office of the American Telegraph Company, an independent concern, over whose wires it was thought the proclamation had been sent from Washington. Inside of three days the author of the fraud was discovered to be one Joseph Howard, a former Secretary of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. It was a stock jobbing scheme. The editors and telegraph operators were then released, as was Howard afterwards at Beecher's intercession.

On August 29th McClellan was nominated for President by the peace party, on a platform which declared the war a failure, and demanding "a cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate convention of the states, or other possible means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace

may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states."

Mr. Thompson from his vantage ground in Canada at first came to the conclusion that they could not prevent the re-election of Lincoln, but after a conference with the notorious C. L. Vallandigham at Windsor he was more encouraged, the latter informing him that if Grant failed before Richmond and Sherman was not successful in Georgia a peace candidate might be elected, possibly a very safe presumption. Mr. Vallandigham also made large promises as to what could be done by the "Sons of Liberty," even to the organization of a Western Confederacy, made up of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. Stanton, through his cipher operators and detectives, was not ignorant of these machinations, and on September 28, he appointed Gen. Hooker to the command of the Northern Department with headquarters at Columbus, by whom the conspiracies were effectually broken up.

Undeterred by Greeley's failure J. S. Black concluded to take a hand in the "reconciling" business, and during the latter part of August made a visit to the Canadian cabinet. Thompson was an old friend, and, according to a letter written by him to Mason and Slidell, the Confederate Commissioners in Europe, Black told him that he had been delegated by Stanton to visit him, that he (Stanton) was convinced that Lincoln would be defeated in November, and wanted to know if negotiations of peace could be opened without the ultimatum of final separation. A statement somewhat similar to the above was given to the newspapers. When Black reached home he addressed a note to Stanton reciting his visit, and

suggesting that Stanton advise the President to suspend hostilities for three or six months and commence negotiations, and added: "I made up my mind some weeks ago to pay Mr. Thompson a visit, impelled mainly by motives arising out of our past intimacy and long personal friendship. When I saw you last, I mentioned that intention in the course of mere casual conversation. You expressed your approbation of it and your wish that I should carry it out. This is all that any member of the Administration had with the affair."

Stanton replied very pointedly to Black's epistle, summarily disposing of the suggestion of advising an armistice, and adding: "It seems a little curious the pains taken to connect your visit to Thompson with my 'wish' and my 'approbation.' As our old friend Jim Dunlop used to say, this appears a 'little previous.' I do not suppose anybody cares when or how often you visit Thompson, nor what you talk about with him, but when you called in the morning to pay me, as you professed, a private, friendly visit, I did not suspect you would afterwards talk about it as a visit to a 'cabinet officer,' and while we were talking of public persons and things, past and present, and you expressed a desire to see Thompson, and your belief that he would tell you the truth about Southern feeling, I did not imagine you were making out credentials as an agent of my 'wishes' or a seeker of my 'approbation.' But this is a matter of trifling importance. You have seen Thompson and no harm is done to anybody, but as in what you report of him your desire may have 'helped you to the conclusion' so the wish to see him may have helped you to the

belief that I wished what was to me a matter of perfect indifference, and approved what I did not care about one way or the other. The upshot of it all is that you go for an armistice, which is nothing more and nothing else than what South Carolina wanted when the rebellion began. You and I then opposed it as fatal to our Government and our National existence; I still oppose it on the same ground."

Mr. Stanton's biographer (Gorham) kindly ascribes the statements made in this ridiculous transaction to Black's "defective memory," which indeed was liable to severe lapses on more than one occasion.

It is not surprising that with one prominent party leader promising an uprising of the people against the Administration, and another professing to come from that Administration asking about terms of peace, Mr. Thompson and his associates should have been encouraged in the belief that the peace party would win in the coming elections. But their plans were thwarted by Stanton's untiring vigilance, energy and unselfishness. He would make any sacrifice to insure Mr. Lincoln's re-election. Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, was one of the disgruntled Republicans that year; he had no use for Stanton, and the feeling was fully returned. A delegation called on Mr. Lincoln to induce Stanton to do something to placate Curtin. Mr. Lincoln said: "I don't believe Stanton can conscientiously do much to please Curtin, and I don't feel like asking him to, but you had better see Stanton." The delegation went with fear and trembling, but on explaining their mission, he promptly replied: "Tell Governor Curtin if it will help carry Pennsylvania for Lincoln, I will lie down, and let him walk over my body."

Sherman's capture of Atlanta in September turned the tide strongly in favor of the Union, but the final victory was not yet won.

Historian Rhodes, commenting on the affairs of that dark summer, says:

The Stanton of tradition is a stern man, standing at a high desk, busy and careworn, grumbling, fuming and swearing, approached by every subordinate with fear, by every officer except the highest with anxiety, by the delinquent with trepidation. The Stanton of the Official Records is a patient, tactful man, who, bearing a burden of administration disposes of business promptly, who takes into account many conditions and adapts himself to circumstances keeping always in view the great result to be achieved. It is a man who does not obtrude himself. No one accustomed to affairs can go through the correspondence of the summer of 1864 without arriving at a high opinion of the executive ability of Stanton. He is patient and considerate with those to whom patience and consideration are due, but when he believes himself in the right he is unyielding and resolute. He was wise in his conduct of affairs, but it is a wonder that on the top of the trials of three years he and Lincoln were not crushed by the disappointments and cares which were their lot from May to September, 1864.

The desperateness of their cause increased the plots and activities of the "Canadian Cabinet." On October 19, St. Alban's, Vt., was raided, the banks robbed, and an attempt made to burn the town. Boats were seized on Lake Erie, and arrangements made to burn New York City on election night, November 8, but the chemicals could not be gotten ready by that time.

The recognized activity of the Canadian Junta, and the knowledge that there were plans for an outbreak in New York City, coupled with the inefficiency of Governor Seymour to cope with the situation as demonstrated in the draft riots of the preceding year,

determined Secretary Stanton to send troops to New York in order to insure peace and quiet on election day. Of course Governor Seymour opposed this, and even many Republicans thought the measure one of doubtful expediency. The troops were sent, however, under command of General Butler, who acted with such discretion that not a soldier was visible on the streets, but everybody knew they were within call if needed, and the result was not only a peaceful and fair election, but, as Butler telegraphed to the President, "the quietest city ever seen."

Mr. Lincoln's triumphant re-election, according to Stanton's prediction, and the increased Union majorities in Congress were notice that the people had made up their minds to push the war to a satisfactory conclusion, but this did not stop the work of these conspirators, who started fires in ten hotels and Barnum's museum, with the intention of destroying New York. Fortunately, Stanton's detectives were on the alert, and by timely warning conveyed to Gen. Dix and the local authorities, who were at first decidedly skeptical, the incendiaries were baffled and the fires extinguished. Edwin Booth was playing in "Julius Caesar" at Winter Garden theatre, next to the Lafarg House, one of the hotels fired, where a panic was narrowly averted, as was the case in several other places. J. Wilkes Booth, the later assassin, was playing with his brothers, Edwin and James, the night of the fire, but there is no evidence that he was a party to the plot, although Payne, another of the later assassins, admitted that he had been appointed one of the incendiaries, but refused on account of the destruction of innocent lives which would follow.

Thompson made a detailed account of his doings

to the Confederate government and charged the failure in New York to the Greek fire, which did not work satisfactorily. Incidentally, he remarks: "I have so many papers in my possession, which in the hands of the enemy would utterly ruin and destroy very many of the prominent men in the North, that a due sense of my obligations to them will force on me the extremest caution in my movements."

CHAPTER XIV.

AN OUTRAGEOUS SLANDER.

Prisoners of War—Stanton Interested in Our Suffering Soldiers
—Efforts for Amelioration and Exchange—An Old Slander
Refuted.

One of the most persistent slanders concocted against Secretary Stanton was the oft repeater assertion that he refused to permit exchanges of prisoners during the war, on the ground that Union soldiers in Southern prison pens had been so reduced by starvation and cruel treatment that they were physical wrecks, and hence useless for military service, while rebel soldiers returned from Northern prisons were so healthy and robust that they immediately re-entered the ranks, reinforcing the enemy to that extent. The whole statement is a baseless slander. If there was one matter above all others which appealed to the humane heart of the great War Secretary it was the condition of Union soldiers in Southern prisons. The very first official order issued by him on January 20, 1862, declared that, "This department recognizes as the first of its duties to take measures for the relief of the brave men who, having imperiled their lives in the military service of the Government, are now prisoners and captives. It is therefore ordered that two commissioners be appointed to visit the city of Richmond, Va., and wherever else prisoners belonging to the Army of the United States may be held; and there take such measures as may be needed to provide for the wants and contribute to the

comforts of such prisoners, at the expense of the United States, and to such extent as may be permitted by the authorities under whom such prisoners are held."

M. E. Bishop Ames and Hon. Hamilton Fish were appointed commissioners under this order, but they were not allowed to enter the Confederate lines.

On January 30 of the same year Secretary Stanton, in company with President Lincoln, visited one of the Washington hospitals, where Ross Stephens, a Steubenville soldier, from a Southern prison, was convalescing. While there he learned that prisoners were not entitled to pay during their confinement. He immediately ordered that all prisoners of war should receive the same pay as though in active service.

Exchanges were made with more or less regularity until the fall of 1862, when Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation outlawing Gen. Butler for his conduct at New Orleans, and declaring that all commissioned officers serving under him if captured should be reserved for execution. In response to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, Davis also decreed that all negro slaves captured in arms, with their white officers, should be turned over to the states to be dealt with under the statutes relating to negro insurrections, which of course meant speedy death after only the semblance of a trial, a process which applied to enlisted free negroes from the North as well as those from the South. Later even the ceremony of capture was dispensed with, and orders were issued to subordinate Confederate officers to "take no prisoners" so far as colored troops were concerned. This

had the advantage of celerity, and not leaving any record, so that when their superiors were interrogated on the subject they could, and did, answer that they knew nothing about it. That these orders were not a dead letter, but carried out in numerous instances with revolting barbarity, has been demonstrated by irrefutable proofs. Another complication arose early in 1863, when Col. A. D. Streight and command, while making a cavalry raid through Alabama and Georgia, were captured and confined as felons, under the pretext that they were trying to incite insurrection among the slaves. Shortly after, Gen. Morgan, the rebel guerilla, was captured just north of the Jefferson county line while making a similar raid through Ohio. In retaliation for Streight's treatment, Morgan and his officers were confined in the Ohio penitentiary, but were not ill treated. Morgan and Streight both solved the question in their case by escaping.

Whatever differences of opinion might exist at any time as to the expediency of enlisting colored soldiers, there can be no question that, having once clothed the negro with the army blue and placed him at the front to fight the battles of the Union, the Government was bound by every principle of honor and good faith to guarantee him and his officers, white and black, the same protection afforded to every other member of the army. To send him forth to battle to take not only the chances of deadly conflict, but to be abandoned to torture and death if captured, would be a species of poltroonery so base as to be beyond the realm of discussion. However, Secretary Stanton's first response to this savage decree was a very mild one. On December 28, four days

after Davis's proclamation, he ordered the discontinuance of the exchange of commissioned officers. On January 12, Davis included in his decree every commissioned officer of the United States who should be taken captive in the territory covered by the emancipation proclamation, and when, in April, Robt. Ould, the Confederate Exchange Commissioner, again brought up the general subject, Stanton demanded that Davis's proclamation be withdrawn. He promptly replied with fire-eating emphasis that this would not be done, even if the prisoners on either side "had to rot, starve and die." Nevertheless, the bark so far was worse than the bite, and exchanges went on with more or less regularity until May, when the Confederate Congress enacted Davis's decree into a savage law, declaring that all commissioned officers of the United States in command of African troops should be put to death, and their troops sold into slavery or executed. This, it will be noted, had no special application to former slaves, but included *all* colored troops and their officers. Events were soon to prove that this law was actively enforced, and under it were perpetrated barbarities unequaled since those of Alva and his soldiery in the Netherlands. In response to this outbreak of savagery, Gen. Halleck, by direction of the Secretary of War, on May 25 issued an order to parole or exchange no more Confederate officers, to place in close confinement those already paroled, and Ould was informed that the Federal Government would retaliate if any Union soldiers were hung as proposed. In the meantime certain Confederate officers were held as hostages, awaiting the outcome. President Lincoln and Mr. Stanton were both strongly averse to entering upon the high-

way of bloody retaliation, and did not do so, although the provocation was very strong.

At this time another difficulty arose. The battles of Gettysburg, Vicksburg and other points in 1863 had resulted in a large excess of prisoners in Federal hands. Thousands of these were paroled, especially at Vicksburg, who were afterwards found to have violated their agreements, and were in the ranks as usual. Stanton ordered all paroled prisoners to be confined as rapidly as possible. The Confederate authorities also tried more than once to trick the Government into a recognition of their status as a government during the exchanges, but this was circumvented by Stanton's ingenuity. Ould even sent raiders into the border states to capture non-combatants, men women and children, sick and aged, in order to force the Government to give back able-bodied rebel soldiers for them.

By this time complaints were loud against the treatment of our men in Southern prisons, and in October, 1863, General Meredith recommended similar treatment of rebels in Northern prisons, and Stanton favored the plan, but Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, in charge of the exchanges, objected, and the matter was dropped. On November 12, Stanton ordered 24,000 rations to Libby prison with instructions to Capt. Forbes, an inmate of the prison, to issue them if permitted. Ould refused to allow him to do so, and on December 12, notified Stanton that no more rations would be received. During that month exchanges of sick and wounded were continued, when Ould on December 28 peremptorily refused to make any more unless there was a general exchange, omitting the excepted characters.

Early in 1862 a small party of volunteers selected from Eastern Ohio regiments was sent by Gen. Buell to Atlanta for the purpose of capturing a railroad train coming north, and by burning the bridges behind them prevent pursuit, and thus cut the railroad communications upon which the enemy depended for movements of troops and supplies. Through failure to obtain an engineer the party returned without results save obtaining much valuable information, and in April of that year Gen. Mitchell organized a larger party for the same purpose under command of J. J. Andrews, of Kentucky. The details of their expedition and capture have been given in various publications, and it is not necessary to repeat them here. Seven were hung, several others were never heard of and six, including William Pittenger, of Jefferson county, suffered all the horrors and cruelty of Southern prisons. The fate of these captives was unknown to their friends, as the Confederate authorities kept their very existence a secret. In January, 1863, Pittenger, who with the others, had been transferred to Castle Thunder at Richmond, contrived to send a note to his father through a prisoner who was being exchanged. It was as it were, a message from the dead. As soon as the Federal authorities heard that some of the raiders were alive an effort was made to include them in the exchanges, but the rebels still claimed they were dead, and the exchange was finally effected more by accident than otherwise. On the evening of March 17th, 1863, a hurried note came from Ould to Winder, the keeper of Libby, the prison at Richmond, to have ready a boat load of prisoners for transfer the next morning at 4 o'clock. In the

letter was the key to the proceedings in these words: "The arrangement I have made works largely in our favor. We get rid of a set of miserable wretches and receive some of the best material I ever saw." Pittenger was gathered up with the party, and sent to Washington.

To any person who has seen, as has the writer, a train load of healthy, robust Confederate prisoners en route to the front to be exchanged, it is not necessary to enlarge on the difference between their condition, and the miserable wrecks received from the South, many of whom died before reaching a hospital. Some attempt has been made by figures to prove that the relative mortality in Northern prisons was greater than in the South, but impartial investigation has shown that the mortality in the South was greater by at least 50 per cent. than shown by the returns, which effectually disproved the proverb that figures cannot lie. Accounts by Confederate inmates of Northern prisons practically agree, that while there were individual cases of wrong treatment, yet their greatest hardship was the fact of imprisonment itself and climatic conditions beyond control. But Andersonville, Belle Isle and certain other places have had no parallel since the remnant of the Athenian army was imprisoned in the quarries of Syracuse until exterminated by starvation and exposure.

Among the frauds perpetrated in these exchanges Pittenger relates an instance of a rebel whose brain had been affected by a bullet, who was actually palmed off on the Federalists as a Unionist, and a sound man was given in his place. Pittenger's following account of the interview with Stanton is of special interest:

Generals Sigel and Stahl, with many other distinguished persons, were in the ante room waiting, but as we were there by appointment, they continued to wait, while we were at once admitted. Stanton had long resided in my county town of Steubenville, and I had seen him and knew him well by reputation, though I could then claim no personal acquaintance. We were seated, after he had shaken each one of us warmly by the hand and uttered words of greeting and compliment. We talked for a considerable time, not so much on the subject of our expedition—for I took it for granted that, lawyer like, he had looked over the evidence in the case and made up his mind about it—as upon general topics, such as our impressions of the South and the Union men in it, and of our hope and feeling about the war. I was especially struck by his asking us how we liked Gen. Mitchell as a commander, and when we spoke of him with unstinted enthusiasm he seemed greatly pleased, and said: "That's the way all his men talk about him." He told us that he had been aware of our expedition at the time, but had no accurate information of the fate of the party.

His impression was that all had perished at first. On the escape of the eight in October he had made official inquiries of the Confederate government about us, but had been answered that they had no information of the hanging of any of the party. (The papers which were forwarded to Richmond in response to inquiries much earlier, show this statement to have been absolutely incorrect.) He had then threatened retaliation in case any more were put to death, and had endeavored to effect our exchange, he was very glad indeed that these efforts had succeeded, and surprised us by saying: "You will find yourselves great heroes when you get home"; then added many kind words about the high appreciation of our services by the Government, which, coming from the Secretary of War of a great nation to private soldiers, was most flattering. Stanton seemed especially pleased with Parrott. He was the youngest of our number and of very quiet and simple manners. Stanton gave him the offer of a complete education if he would accept it—I understood him to mean at West Point. Parrott answered that while the war lasted he did not wish to go to school; but would rather go back and fight the rebels who had used him so badly. At this Stanton smiled as if he greatly approved his spirit, and then said to him, "If you want a friend at any time be sure to apply to me." Then going into another room he brought out

a medal, and handed it to Parrott saying, "Congress has by a recent law ordered medals to be prepared on this model, and your party shall have the first; they will be the first that have been given to private soldiers in this war! Later all the survivors of the party received similar medals. Then he gave us a present of \$100 each from the secret service fund, and ordered all the money and the value of arms and property taken from us by the rebels to be refunded. Finally he asked us about our wishes and intentions for the future. Finding that we were all resolved to return (as soon as health permitted) to active service, he offered us commissions as first lieutenants in the regular army. We expressed a preference for the volunteer service, saying that we were soldiers only for the war, and would wish to resume our usual pursuits when peace returned. He promised to request Gov. Todd, of Ohio, to give us equivalent commissions in our own regiments. Then with a hearty goodbye we left him.

The outlawing of Butler and officers of colored regiments was still maintained by the rebel authorities, and so far as colored troops were concerned, while there does not seem to have been much murdering by "authority" yet the writer has the testimony of eye witnesses to the mutilation of colored soldiers on the battle field too horrible to be printed, and those mutilations were no doubt the cause of death in many instances. The rebel authorities no doubt told the truth when they said they had no colored prisoners to exchange. Gen. Butler asked authority from Stanton to retaliate, declaring that for every wrong done to a Union soldier there would be a day of mourning in the South, and those who knew Butler had no doubt that he would make his word good. A system of bloody reprisals was repugnant to the Administration, but on April 17th, Stanton notified the Confederates that "unless every man—white, black or red, who wore the uniform of a soldier of the

United States when captured should be accorded all rights due to prisoners of war, no more rebels would be exchanged or paroled."

On April 20th a consignment of living skeletons arrived, of which the photographs are preserved in the war records as indestructible testimony of the horrible treatment they had undergone. About this time reports began to arrive of a terrible massacre of both white and colored soldiers at Fort Pillow on the Mississippi river above Memphis, which had been captured on April 12th, by a portion of Forrest's command. Public feeling was so intense that Congress instructed the Committee on Conduct of the War to investigate the matter, and Messrs. Wade and Gooch were deputed to go West and take testimony. Furnished with authority from the Secretary of War they made a thorough investigation, and their conclusion was that no less than 300 persons, a number of them women and children, were massacred, some of them under circumstances of unspeakable barbarity. Jefferson Davis in his book ignores this massacre, and Rhodes in his history treats it rather lightly, but the record, which is a black one, has never been contradicted. President Lincoln asked for opinions of Cabinet members as to retaliatory proceedings and Stanton outlined severe measures of reprisal, which were not carried out, and the whole subject was afterwards remitted to the military courts, with the result that at the close of the war Wirz, the Andersonville prison keeper, was tried and executed. Since then his admirers have erected to him a monument.

In the meantime Grant had been made Lieutenant General, and had his headquarters with the army

of the Potomac. He was opposed to exchanges in toto, and on April 17th he ordered that not another Confederate should be paroled or exchanged until there were released a sufficient number of Union officers and men to equal the parole at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and without distinction between white and colored soldiers. Later he declared: "If we commence a system of exchange which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated. If we hold those captured they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time to release all rebel prisoners North would insure Sherman's defeat and would compromise our safety here."

Lincoln sustained Grant in this position and for several months exchanges practically stopped in the East, although some went on in the West. Stanton was still anxious to get our soldiers out of Southern prisons, but his hands were tied. Grant reiterated his position before the Committee on Conduct of the War, and added that had it not been for the suffering of Union prisoners there would have been no exchanges, so that all that Stanton did in that direction was contrary to Grant's policy and advice. Later Stanton furnished a statement to the Senate in Executive session showing that the suspension of exchanges was forced by the action of the Confederates in declaring the death penalty for Union officers commanding colored troops, refusing to release non-combatants captured during raids in Northern States, turning against our troops 40,000 soldiers paroled by Grant at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, condemning colored prisoners to death, and "deliberately starving Union captives in rebel mews."

It must be clearly understood, however that the interruption of exchanges was due to the emphatic and peremptory orders of General Grant, who arrived at Fortress Monroe on April 1, 1864. General Butler had been in charge of the exchanges, under instructions from Secretary Stanton, which, notwithstanding the friction in regard to colored troops, had been progressing at a fair rate of progress until as Butler says: "Most emphatic verbal directions were received from the Lieutenant General not to take any steps by which another able-bodied man should be exchanged until further orders from him." Butler kept urging at least a limited exchange of sick and wounded, and on April 20 he received the following peremptory command from Grant: "Receive all the sick and wounded the Confederate authorities will send you, but send no more in exchange."

This action cannot be denounced as inhuman from a military standpoint, although it caused additional suffering, just as did the raids of Sherman and Sheridan, but the responsibility must rest where it belongs. Stanton could not interfere, and hence there was no "Heart Breaking Duty" as intimated by Mr. Flower. The whole history of exchanges beginning with the fall of 1863 is related in detail by Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, and the reader is referred to his book for a full account of the same.

In October, 1864, Stanton entered into arrangements by which each party could furnish supplies to the prisoners held by the other side, and he also proposed to make further exchanges, which proposition was not accepted. Supplies were sent South, but only a small proportion ever reached those for whom



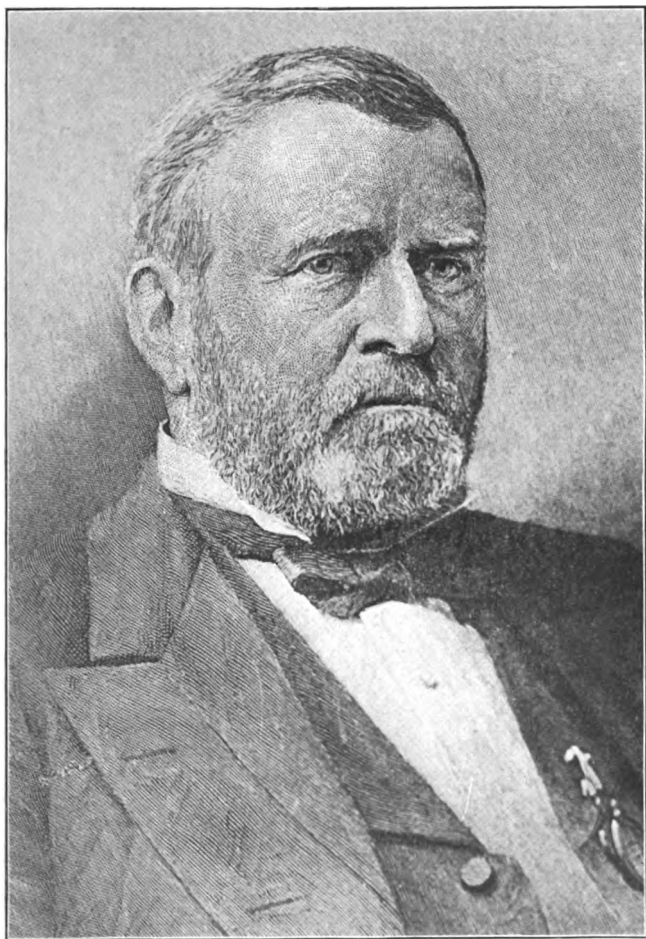
GEN. CASSIUS M. INGHAM

AN OUTRAGEOUS SLANDER

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GEN. ULYSSES S. GRANT

they were intended. Exchanges were resumed early in 1865, but the end of the struggle was too near at hand to make them a matter of much importance. One thing is certain, that no part of Stanton's career redounds more to his credit than his constant efforts to relieve those whom the fortunes of war had placed in the hands of the enemy.

CHAPTER XV.

STANTON'S PERSONALITY.

Respect and Love of Subordinates—Origin of a Famous Expression—Old Steubenville Days—Abortive Peace Conference—Fall of Richmond—Lee's Surrender—Resignation Declined—Warnings to the President—The Assassination—Stanton's Narrow Escape—Punishment of the Conspirators.

The severest test of any man's character is probably that afforded by his close association day after day and year after year with others in the same general work, especially if that work is of a kind to develop his individuality. His weakness and his strength cannot be continually concealed from those in constant contact with him, whether as superior, an equal or a subordinate. In Mr. Stanton's case we are not lacking plenty of testimony of this kind, and it is a fact worth recording that of those closely engaged with him during the long struggle, when the country's very existence hung in the balance, there is not one who is not ready to lay on his bier the tribute of loyalty and affection. When we read of his consideration for those about him, of his constant watchfulness and care of the private soldiers, of the numberless little incidents which graced the dreary annals of the War Department, we sometimes wonder if this is indeed the Stanton who has been pictured as the stern unyielding Janus, whose very frown was a menace and whose voice was a terror. His frown was indeed a menace, but only to defrauders of the Government, and his voice was indeed a

terror, but only to disloyalty and rebellion. In one respect Stanton and Lincoln were alike, both were utterly unselfish in their devotion to their country; while neither was indifferent to the good opinion of those they respected, yet neither could be moved from what he regarded as the right course by any outside clamor or political pressure. Many stories are related of incidents at the daily morning receptions which Stanton held at his office, but we have not space for them here. It was a very democratic assemblage at those gatherings, congressmen, army officers and privates, government contractors, loyal and disloyal citizens, after every imaginable favor. The Secretary disposed of them rapidly, transacting an enormous amount of business in the allotted time, and when he sternly said "no" there was no appeal from his verdict. We have already given Pittenger's story of the reception of the six Mitchel raiders by Stanton. Two of them, Wood and Wilson, had reached Washington the November preceding. Mr. Flower relates how one of them was found at one of these morning receptions:

Stanton espied a soldier boy ragged, dirty and evidently in ill health, leaning against the wall as if too feeble to stand alone. Regardless of the officers crowded about him, he called the boy to him, saying, "Well, my lad, what can I do for you?" The soldier without a word, drew a letter and handed it to the Secretary. Hastily reading it Stanton cried: "I would rather be worthy of this letter than have the highest commission in the United States," and then read aloud the communication which was an appeal from Gen. George H. Thomas in behalf of the bearer and survivor of the men sent South by Gen. O. M. Mitchell to burn the bridges and destroy the railway communications of the Confederates before the battle of Shiloh. * * Again turning to the boy Stanton asked with considerable emotion what he wanted. "Let me go home." "You shall go home,

and when you return to the army it shall be as an officer. This is the sort of devotion that is needed in the service."

One or two more illustrations of this character must suffice, although we could fill a volume. One day Lincoln entering the war office found a young mother with her babe which had been born after the father had enlisted, and the latter had never seen his offspring. Grant was starting on his Wilderness campaign, and strict orders had been issued that no women should go to the front. Stanton coming in and seeing the situation remarked: "Why not give her husband a leave of absence to allow him to see his wife in Washington?" The suggestion was carried out, and the young man was allowed to remain a week with his wife and baby.

The following related by Mr. Flower, is of local interest:

Col. A. S. Worthington, of Washington, who entered the army as a mere boy at Steubenville, Ohio, had his right leg shot off, and was in a hospital at Nashville perishing of gangrene. His mother arrived and engaged a physician who removed the boy to a private house. This enraged the hospital surgeon, who, regarding the removal as a reflection on himself ordered the patient returned. "Send word to father," said the boy, and the physician telegraphed the facts as directed. Instantly B. D. Worthington, the father, telegraphed to Stanton, and within three hours the hospital surgeon received this from Stanton, "Let young Worthington remain where his mother has placed him." By a miracle the boy recovered. Later he went to Washington to thank Stanton for the intercession which saved his life. Stanton replied: "Yes I love to lay a heavy hand on those fellows when they need it."

Capt. J. F. Oliver tells of a woman one morning at the War office, asking some favor for a relative, perhaps her husband. She had a pitiful story, but

Stanton shaken by strong emotion exclaimed: "My God, woman, you might as well ask me for the stars." She turned sadly away, and Stanton sank down into his chair, choked by his own sobs.

Among the prisoners exchanged during the latter days of the war was a young Wheeling youth who was in the class that Ould was very willing to get rid of. During the battle in which he was captured a piece of shell weighing 4 1-2 ounces had imbedded itself in his shoulder. Owing to lack of proper surgical attention the injury so affected his nerves as to produce insanity, and he was sent to the Government insane asylum near Washington. His friends believed that could he be brought home there would be a chance of recovery amid his local surroundings. Mrs. Wm. R. Holliday, popularly known as "Mother" Holliday, accompanied by her daughter in law, Mrs. John W. Holliday, now Mrs. M. C. Bowman, of Steubenville, were requested to see if the change could not be made. They went to Washington, where they were joined by Col. J. W. Holliday, who had been in the first party of Mitchell raiders, and whose regiment was then at Richmond. They laid the case before Secretary Stanton, who at once sent them in a carriage out to the asylum, had the young man discharged, brought to the railway station in an ambulance, and detailed four soldiers to accompany him to Wheeling. Unfortunately he never recovered.

Martin B. Patterson, who was one of the attaches of the War office, and saw both Lincoln and Stanton every day, says nobody outside the office had any idea of the terrible load the latter had to carry. The grafters, the shirkers, worthless characters of all kinds

pushed forward by political influence, secret traitors and all sorts and conditions of men. Neither did the people appreciate the tenderness and sympathy which was always called forth by the appearance of any person in distress, especially if it was a woman or an aged person. For the men who wore shoulder straps only that they might loaf around Washington, Stanton had no use or time, but to the private soldier, sick or wounded, or his mother, wife or children, his heart and hands were always open. Among the Steubenville boys in Stanton's office were M. B. Patterson, Samuel McDonald, J. N. Ferree, Archibald Robinson, Augustus S. Worthington, James Patterson, Edwin Collier and perhaps one or two others whose names cannot be recalled.

John C. Hatter, whose close association with Mr. Stanton is related later, writes: "If all had known Secretary Stanton as Gen. Eckert, myself and a few others had known him, that statue would have been erected immediately after his death."

The Century Magazine for March, 1887, contains some interesting pen pictures of Mr. Stanton by Charles F. Benjamin, a clerk in the War Department. One false impression of the relations between Lincoln and Stanton is thus pointedly corrected:

Many stories have been told concerning Mr. Stanton's alleged sullen and contemptuous reception of communications from his superior officer, the President. All such tales are either grossly exaggerated or wholly false. Mr. Stanton had a profound respect for authority, which rarely, if ever, failed of outward observance. Furthermore, his legal or political studies had led him to attach a great degree of importance and a considerable share of reverence to the office of President, apart from its incumbent; and this ideal and exalted figure seemed ever present to his imagination, and made frequent appearances in

his writings and speeches, though it was hard to identify it with the gaunt, ramshackle presence of Mr. Lincoln as that presence appeared when its owner was, as an artist would say, in repose. The President, too, was not a man to endure disrespectful treatment from anybody in legal subordination to him.

Secretary Stanton's health was very precarious during the latter part of 1864, and twice he became unconscious at his desk. He would not hear of taking a furlough, but replied to the Surgeon General: "Barnes, keep me alive till this rebellion is over, and then I will take a rest—a long one perhaps." To Senator Wilson, he said, "We are enlisted for the war, and must stand to our guns until the last shot is fired."

Mr. Benjamin relates how Lincoln "spent hours at a time shut up with Mr. Stanton, all business and speech mainly being put aside, so far as outsiders could judge, while these lonely communions lasted. Was it not the gloomy autumn days of 1864 that the tearful Secretary had in mind when he spoke those pathetic words as he took the hand of the just expired President: 'Ah dear friend! there is none now to do me justice; none to tell the world of the anxious hours we have spent together.'"

As to the Secretary's non-partisanship Mr. Benjamin says:

Doubtless Mr. Stanton knew fairly well the extent to which quiet partisanship for McClellan pervaded his entire department, but politics under him was as free as religion, so long as fidelity and industry accompanied it. The chief of his military staff, Colonel Hardie, came to him fresh from cordial and confidential service on the staff of the deposed General McClellan, and General Fry, the Provost Marshal General, whose duties and powers were more important and delicate than those of any other officer in the department, had been chief of staff to Gen-

eral Buell up to the time when the latter's active career had been terminated by the Secretary.

Neither had Stanton any resentment against the Southern leaders or people. Only while in armed resistance to the Government were his energies directed against them. Many an ex-Confederate was indebted to him for favors. He believed his work of caring for the Government was a religious duty, but he was markedly tolerant of other people's religious views. Col. Hardie, his chief of staff, was a devout Roman Catholic, and brought many cases concerning damages to institutions of that church before the Secretary who always dealt with them, liberally and patiently.

In this connection Dr. Wm. P. Johnston, of Washington, says: "I was from the South, so when Confederate prisoners began to arrive and need medical assistance, I secured permission to attend them. From his own purse he (Stanton) contributed fifty dollars to a fund to be expended by F. B. McGuire, Dr. James C. Hall and myself for those requiring special foods and delicacies. He was very highminded and generous, and those Confederates who really knew him permit nothing to be said about him that is disrespectful."

During the late war with Spain we became accustomed to the expression, "The man behind the gun," and it is generally believed to have originated during that struggle. But one day during the civil war there was an animated discussion in the War Department over the respective merits of muzzle and breech loading rifles, when the Secretary broke in with the remark: "Gentlemen, it's the man behind the gun

that makes all the difference worth talking about." He it was who first referred in official dispatches to Thomas standing like a rock at Chickamauga, and had many more of his sayings been preserved they no doubt would have proved quite as sententious.

Mr. Stanton made but one visit to his old home at Steubenville during the war, when he held a reception at his house on North Third street, where every citizen was invited to enter and take him by the hand. He constantly kept in remembrance the old town, and a citizen, especially if he were a soldier, from Steubenville, was always sure of prompt recognition at the war office.

Mr. Stanton was also the means of sending orders to Steubenville for making of army suits which gave much needed employment to soldiers' relatives and others. In connection with his Steubenville reminiscences Mr. Bates relates the following:

One evening in the summer of 1864, I rode out to the Soldiers' Home with important despatches for the President and Secretary of War, who were temporarily domiciled with their families in cottages on the grounds of the home. I found Stanton reclining on the grass playing with Lewis, one of his children, now living in New Orleans. He invited me to a seat on the greensward while he read the telegrams; and then, the business being finished, we began talking of early times in Steubenville, Ohio, his native town and mine. One of us mentioned the game of "mumble the peg," and he asked me if I could play it. Of course I said yes, and he proposed that we should have a game then and there. Stanton entered into the spirit of the boyish sport with great zest, and for the moment all the perplexing questions of the terrible war were forgotten. I do not remember who won.

As a recent writer has remarked, "A great pair was this A. Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton."

Undeterred by the fate of those who had previously attempted "peace conferences" with those in conflict with the Government Francis P. Blair, Sr., an old Jacksonian Democrat concluded to try his hand. He called on President Lincoln several times with a scheme which involved the abandonment of resistance to the Union and the uniting of both armies in a chimerical scheme of driving the French out of Mexico and taking possession of that country. Mr. Lincoln took no stock in the matter, and would have nothing to do with the Mexican project. Blair was so persistent that Lincoln finally gave him a pass to go through the lines on his own authority, although Stanton would have nothing to do with it. Blair unfolded his projects to Davis, who, sincerely or insincerely seemed to favor it, including the Mexican crusade. Finally he appointed A. H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter and John A. Campbell to confer with the Washington authorities on the subject of "peace to the two countries." Mr. Stanton promptly took exception to this wording, and Mr. Lincoln finally agreed to meet the agents in regard to restoring peace to our "one common country." Grant thought the commissioners were sincere, but Stanton doubted them, and sent Maj. Eckert to City Point to keep an eye on things. Grant wanted to be a party to the conference but Eckert would not permit it, and Grant was angry with him for years after. The reply of the commissioners to Eckert's interrogatories, namely that the conditions precedent to all negotiations must be restoration of the National authority, no receding by the Executive of the United States on the slavery question, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the Government, was "not satisfactory," and Eckert so

telegraphed to Washington. The matter would have ended there, but Gen. Grant sent an earnest telegram to the Secretary of War, regretting that Mr. Lincoln could not have an interview with the commissioners, as a refusal might have a bad influence. Stanton, however, still regarded the whole affair as a trap, which could not amount to anything as the Commissioners apparently had no authority to treat upon the only terms admissable, namely, surrender. He however agreed that the President might go to the James, while he remained at home tightening the coils around the already gasping rebellion. The President did go, and the conference, as Stanton predicted proved fruitless.

But the end of the war was close at hand. Stanton had paid a visit to General Sherman's forces at Savannah, conducting religious services on the vessel en route, and while there held some conferences with the more intelligent of the negroes in regard to the situation of their race, which he foresaw was one of the great problems of the near future. Gen. Sherman in his memoirs criticises Stanton because he asked some questions as to how they (the negroes) had been treated by Sherman, but there is nothing to show any inimical or unfriendly object in this, and the incident was too trifling to merit any attention. Subsequent events gave it importance out of all proportion to its merits.

By the first of March it became evident to Lee, if not to Davis, that resistance to the Government could not last much longer, and it must soon come to a question of terms. Lee began sounding Grant as to terms of peace, which suggestions Grant telegraphed

to Washington. Lincoln was anxious to get rid of Lee's army on almost any terms, but Stanton's legal mind at once discerned the pitfall, and on the evening of the 3rd of March, at a Cabinet meeting thus expressed himself to the President:

To-morrow is inauguration day. If you are not to be President, if any authority is for one moment to be recognized or any terms made that do not signify that you are the supreme head of the nation; if generals in the field are to negotiate peace, or any other chief magistrate is to be acknowledged on this continent, you are not needed, and had better not take the oath of office.

Mr. Lincoln saw the force of this and said: "I think the Secretary is right." Thereupon was sent the following dispatch, written by Mr. Lincoln:

Washington, March 3, 1865.

Lieut. Gen. Grant:

The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee, unless it is for the capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter. He further directs me to say to you that you are not to decide, discuss or confer upon any political question. Such questions the President holds in his own hands and will submit them to no military conference or convention. Meanwhile you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

Stanton visited Grant at City Point on March 14th, where the approaching surrender of Lee, which Grant thought would occur inside of twenty days, was discussed. On his return to Washington he suggested that President Lincoln visit the army so that he might witness the finish, an invitation having also been received from Grant. The President left on the 23rd, and on arriving at City Point, Stanton sent a

dispatch, saying: "I hope to have a telegram from you dated at Richmond before you return." While there was not what could be called a great battle after this yet Five Forks and other points bore testimony to the desperate attempt of Lee to break the cordon that was gradually encircling him. Having telegraphed on the 3rd of April that Petersburg was evacuated and that he proposed accompanying Grant on the pursuit of Lee, Stanton replied: "Ought you to expose the Nation to the consequences of any disaster to yourself in the pursuit of a treacherous and dangerous enemy like the rebel army?" Lincoln accepted the suggestion, and the next day went to Richmond.

On the morning of the 3rd, Gen. Weitzel telegraphed to Stanton that Richmond had been entered at 8:15. Willie Kettler, a lad of fifteen received the dispatch, and ran with it into the adjoining room, upsetting the table in his excitement. In a few minutes the War office was surrounded by thousands of people, and everybody was shouting himself hoarse. In the midst of the pandemonium Stanton arrived, grabbed the boy in his arms, and lifting him to the window sill, shouted: "My friends, here is the young man who received the telegram which tells us of the fall of Richmond." Stanton was called on for a speech, and he responded with words of gratitude to Almighty God, and thanks to the President, to the army and navy, and reminding his auditors of their duty to the wounded, the maimed and the suffering.

Lee surrendered on the 9th, and Johnston's army in North Carolina was now the only organized mili-

tary body in the Confederacy worthy of serious consideration.

When Lincoln entered Richmond on April 4, he had a conference with John A. Campbell, an ex-Justice of the Supreme Court, in reference to the reassembling of the so-called Virginia Legislature with the view of withdrawing Virginia troops, and ending all resistance to the Government, and Gen. Weitzell was directed to permit the men to assemble for that purpose. It will be remembered that Lee's army was still in the field, and Lincoln's main object was to get it out of the way. When word of this action reached Washington Stanton's legal mind at once saw that even a quasi recognition of this rebel legislature would set a precedent for all the others, and interfere seriously with any plan of reconstruction which the Government might adopt. He sent a confidential message to Lincoln asking him to return to Washington, where he presented the objections to him with such force that the order was revoked. The revocation was dated April 12, the last time Lincoln was in the War Department, and this was the last order he ever issued. Neither the rebel legislature of Virginia nor that of any other state was permitted to re-assemble.

It was now Stanton's belief that his work was done. Barnes had fulfilled the injunction to keep him alive until the rebellion was over, and a short time before he had written to Chief Justice Chase:

"I am better now, and again at work, but with feeble and broken health, that can only be restored by absolute rest from all labor and care. This, I long for, and hope soon to have. Our cause is now, I hope,

beyond all danger, and when Grant goes into Richmond my task is ended. To you and others it will remain to secure the fruits of victory."

Accordingly when it was evident that Lee was about to surrender Mr. Stanton wrote out his resignation and presented it to the President in person. The reason given was that this would virtually end the rebellion, and that the work for which he entered the Cabinet was over. Mr. Lincoln was probably more greatly moved than at any other period of his life. Mr. Carpenter tells us that he tore up the resignation and throwing his arms around the Secretary said: "Stanton, you have been a good friend and a faithful public servant; and it is not for you to say when you will be no longer needed here." Mr. Stanton himself in a private letter has left us a brief account of the scene in which Lincoln with tears in his eyes put his hands on the Secretary's shoulders, saying:

"Stanton, you cannot go. Reconstruction is more difficult and dangerous than construction or destruction. You have been our main reliance; you must help us through the final act. The bag is filled. It must be tied, and tied securely. Some knots slip; yours do not. You understand the situation better than anybody else, and it is my wish and the country's that you remain."

There could be but one answer to this appeal. The Secretary returned to his desk, providentially, as it turned out, soon to face a more acute crisis than any which had yet occurred.

From April 4th to the 14th, Washington was en fete. Fireworks, illuminations, salvos of artillery, forests of fluttering bunting, music of bands, cheers of

multitudes and congratulations of thousands expressed the feelings of the people not only here, but in every community where Union sentiment prevailed. Stanton's residence and the War Department were notable centres, and on the latter stood out in large letters of flame, the word Grant. Crowds visited Stanton's residence where he presented Grant to the people. Business was not entirely neglected, and on the morning of the 14th the President held a Cabinet meeting at which Mr. Stanton presented a plan for reconstruction, but no action was taken. Among the other events of that busy week was the preparation of a programme by Stanton for the ceremonial raising of the very same flag over Fort Sumter on the 14th that had been taken down just four years before. Gen. Robert Anderson unfurled the banner according to programme, and Henry Ward Beecher delivered the oration. There was a dinner in Charleston that night at which Stanton had expected to be present, but he concluded that the course of events was so rapid that he had better remain in Washington, commissioning Gen. Holt to go in his place, as "no one can tell what might happen." Gen. Holt went, and while he was eloquently praising the work of the great Secretary amid the enthusiastic cheers of his auditors assassins were busy in Washington. The President was shot, Seward wounded, as it was thought fatally, and an assassin was at Stanton's house, where failure to respond to a disabled door bell prevented an entrance. The attempt to enter was witnessed by Hudson Taylor, a resident of Washington.

On the morning of this eventful day Mrs. Lincoln

arranged for a theater party that evening, to which, according to Bates, Lincoln reluctantly assented and suggested the addition of Gen. and Mrs. Grant to the party. Stanton through his detectives had heard rumored plots of kidnapping and assassination, and when Lincoln mentioned the proposed party to him he entered a vigorous protest against the whole scheme. He pronounced it "crazy," and undertook to remind the President of the risk in exposing himself to a treacherous and dangerous enemy. Lincoln declined to take the matter seriously, but Stanton was not to be diverted. He related his fears to Grant, and urged him not only to remain away from the theater himself but dissuade Lincoln from going. Grant wanted an excuse not to go, and sent word to the President that he found it necessary to visit his daughter Nellie, who was at school at Burlington, N. J. Lincoln soon after called at the War Department and stated that Grant had cancelled his engagement. Stanton again urged the President to give up the project but when he found him determined, he told him he ought to have a competent guard. Lincoln proposed to take Major Eckert, but Stanton still anxious to discourage the project said he had important work for him that evening. Mr. Lincoln went into Eckert's room and invited Eckert, adding that Stanton had said he could not spare him, but that he could do Stanton's work tomorrow. Eckert knowing the situation politely declined, hoping that would discourage the President, but the latter replied: "Very well, I shall take Major Rathbone along because Stanton insists upon having some one to protect me; but I should much rather have you, Major, since I know you can break a poker over your arm."

Details of the assassination have been published so fully that their repetition here would be needless. Mr. Bates gives the following account of the reception of the news at the War office:

Although I was on duty in the cipher room that evening, I have no distinct remembrance of anything that occurred prior to the moment when some one rushed into the office with blanched face saying, "There is a rumor below that President Lincoln has been shot in Ford's theater." Before we could fully take in the awful import, other rumors reached us, horror following fast upon horror; the savage attack upon Secretary Seward, and the frustrated efforts to reach and kill Vice President Johnson, Secretary Stanton and other members of the Government. As the successive accounts crystalized, a fearful dread filled our hearts, lest it should be found that the entire Cabinet had been murdered. After an hour of this awful suspense, we received word from Major Eckert, who had gone quickly to Secretary Stanton's house on K street, and from there with the Secretary to the house on Tenth street, opposite the theatre, to which the President had been carried after being shot by John Wilkes Booth. This message merely assured us of the present safety of Stanton, while confirming our worst fears concerning the President. A relay of mounted messengers in charge of John C. Hatter was immediately established by Eckert, and all night long they carried bulletins in Stanton's handwriting addressed to Gen. Dix, New York City, which were at once given to the Associated Press. * * Stanton ordered a small body of picked men under Lieut. E. P. Doherty of the 16th New York Cavalry to start for Port Tobacco, leaving Washington on the steamer John S. Ide, at 4 o'clock, arriving at Belle Plain, seventy miles below Washington, at 10 o'clock. The men and their horses disembarked, and the whole party struck out on the trail, and by midnight they had tracked Booth and Herold across the river into Virginia, where they were discovered concealed in a barn which was set on fire for the purpose of forcing the fugitives from its shelter, and, as is well known, Booth was shot by Sergeant "Boston" Corbett, of Company L, 16th New York Cavalry, Herold having surrendered previously. * * * Lewis Thornton Powell (alias Payne), George A. Atzerodt, David E. Herold and Mrs. Mary E. Surratt were hung at

the Washington arsenal July 7, 1865. Samuel Arnold, Edward Spangler, Michael O'Laughlin and Dr. Samuel A. Mudd were sentenced to imprisonment at Dry Tortugas, Fla. John H. Surratt later went to Egypt where he was arrested and, in 1867, placed on trial. The jury disagreed, and he was discharged by the Court.

As stated a broken door bell no doubt saved the Secretary of War from assassination. Mr. Stanton himself gives the following account of this incident:

I was tired out and went home early, and was in the back room playing with the children when the man came to my steps. If the door bell had rung it would have been answered and the man admitted, and I no doubt would have been attacked; but the bell-wire was broken a day or two before, and though we had endeavored to have it repaired, the bell hanger had put it off because of a pressure of orders.

Among those rendering efficient service during that night was John C. Hatter, mentioned in the paragraph quoted above from Mr. Bates's book. Mr. Hatter is still living, a resident of Brooklyn, N. Y., and in response to a request for information furnishes the following:

Mr. Joseph B. Doyle, Steubenville, O.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 17th at hand. In reply to your request would say that my first duty to Mr. Stanton was as an enlisted man on duty at the War Department, carrying a special message to Gen. Wright, appointing him in command of the forces around Washington, and then in the field, having been recommended because of my knowledge of the District of Columbia, when invaded by Gen. Early. For this prompt performance I was praised by Mr. Stanton. Later, when it was discovered that a conspiracy was afoot, I was detailed a special guard to Mr. Stanton. In that way I came into contact on the night when the country celebrated the fall of Richmond. The President had contemplated to visit Ford's theatre, but changed his mind on account of the arrival of Gen. Grant from the

front. That night I was at Mr. Stanton's house, where the General made a call on Mr. Stanton. While both were in conversation in the parlor, a man approached while I was standing at the door, saying he had important information and papers, and wanted to see Mr. Stanton. Failing in this, he wanted to see Gen. Grant, but I turned him off and returned to the parlor, where I found Mr. Stanton and Gen. Grant in conversation. I was about returning by the same door to the hall, when I changed my mind, to go to another door. Getting hold of the knob I felt some one having a hold of it from the outside, and in opening found the same man, and ordered him out. This man turned out to be O'Laughlin, one of the conspirators. Next night I was again at Mr. Stanton's house, the President having gone to Ford's theatre. Mr. Stanton remained at home. About 10 o'clock Mrs. Stanton informed me that Mr. Stanton was about to retire and that I could go. While talking to some of the girls in the dining room, the waiter man rushed in, saying Mr. Stanton had rushed out as Mr. Lincoln had been shot. I followed and was with Mr. Stanton at the bedside of President Lincoln until morning.

O'Laughlin, principally through Hatter's testimony was found guilty of being one of the conspirators, and was sentenced to the Dry Tortugas, Florida, where he died on September 23, 1867.

When Stanton went to Lincoln's death bed with Eckert by common consent he took charge of everything. It was then uncertain whether the assassination was an isolated event or part of a vast conspiracy to annihilate the Government at a single stroke, and in the resulting confusion rehabilitate the dying and gasping Confederacy. Stanton issued orders to Gen. Augur as military governor to be ready for any emergency, the entire military and police force of the city was called out, Grant was telegraphed to return immediately, detectives were ordered from New York, Chief Justice Chase and Vice Presi-

dent Johnson were notified that the President was dying, stenographers were busy taking down statements which would lead to the detection and punishment of the assassins, bulletins were sent to Gen. Dix at New York and by him given to the country, in fact the amount of work done by Stanton that night was almost incredible. At 7:22 on the morning of the 15th the spirit of the martyred President took its flight, and Stanton as he drew the blinds uttered those memorable words: "He now belongs to the ages." Col. A. F. Rockwell, one of the spectators of the closing scene, says:

During the twenty minutes preceding the death of the President, Mr. Stanton stood quite motionless, leaning his chin upon his left hand, his right hand holding his hat and supporting his left elbow, the tears falling continually.

Mr. Stanton, who was now practically acting President, called a Cabinet meeting on the spot, and suggested a later meeting with the new President at the Treasury Department. After issuing some other orders he went home to breakfast, but not to rest, for his labors were continuous all that day. Dispatches and orders were sent in every direction, and a reward of \$100,000 was offered for the capture of the murderers, in fact Stanton was the Government. Had President Johnson been ever so capable he could not have grasped the multitudinous reins so suddenly thrust into his hands, and subsequent events proved that he was far from capable. Mr. Stanton did not include Jefferson Davis in his offer of reward for the President's murderers, although, as he telegraphed to Gen. Dix, there were grounds for suspicion that the Richmond government was privy to the conspiracy,

and Johnson on May 2d issued a proclamation charging Davis with the crime. As previously stated the War Department was in touch with evidence regarding the cipher correspondence between the Richmond Cabinet and Thompson & Co., in Canada, which included revolt of prisoners, burning of Northern cities, and kidnapping of President Lincoln, and on the body of Booth was found a copy of this same cipher code. History has acquitted Jefferson Davis of complicity in the assassination, but agents not unfrequently go farther than their principals intend. When Davis sent Thompson to Canada with only verbal instructions concerning the plots he was to hatch it is not probable that he expected any such tragic ending, but nevertheless the wheels then set in motion kept revolving with ever increasing complications until they culminated in the event that set the world aghast.

A recent publication purporting to be a fresh account of the assassination and the trial of the conspirators, but which on examination proves to be largely a sentimental plea of extenuation for the murderers, violently attacks Johnson, who was certainly vulnerable in a great many respects but is not shown to have done anything else than his duty in regard to this affair. Stanton is also charged with suppressing a portion of Booth's diary, which when disclosed proved to be but a few fanatical ravings not worthy of the dignity of "suppressing." A bit of senseless religious prejudice is also dragged into the work, which is not worth discussing. There has also been an effort to show that the court's recommendation to the President to commute Mrs. Surratt's death

sentence to imprisonment for life, not because of lack of evidence as to her guilt, but because of her sex, was prevented by somebody from reaching him, but this has been proved utterly baseless. President Johnson had all the papers in his possession, and signed the warrants carrying out the sentences of the court in the presence of his entire Cabinet.

That the kidnappers also had Mr. Stanton in view is indicated by Mr. Flower, who relates the following in connection with Stanton's visit to Steubenville during the war:

A plan to kidnap Stanton and take him to Richmond was entrusted to a secession band with headquarters on the Saunders farm in West Virginia, about six miles from the Ohio River. A sharp and nerry young woman made regular trips to Steubenville, Ohio, for the purpose of reporting to the band any visit which Stanton might be about to make to that city. She was frequently accompanied by a neighbor of Union sentiments named W. R. Burgoyne, (now of Steubenville) who was aware that she was doing secret work for the Confederates. Finally she learned that Stanton had arrived and intended on Saturday to accompany Dr. William Stanton over the river into West Virginia. Arrangements were made to capture him, but an urgent telegram from Washington caused him to return forthwith. "I learned years afterwards from a leading secessionist," says Mr. Burgoyne 'that the preparations made to take Mr. Stanton to Richmond were so ample that failure would have been practically out of the question."

CHAPTER XVI.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

The Johnston-Sherman Imbroglio—Stanton Saves the Day—Disbanding the Army—Reconstruction Measures—President Johnson's Course—Stanton Relieved and Reinstated—Impeachment Proceedings—Final Resignation.

On the day that Lincoln was assassinated, Gen. Joseph Johnston, who was confronted by Sherman in North Carolina, sent the latter a note suggesting a suspension of hostilities with the view of surrendering on the same terms as had been given Lee's soldiers. Sherman agreed to this, and sent copies of the correspondence to Grant, saying he would be careful not to complicate any points of civil policy. After some preliminaries, the parties came together for final action on the 18th, when an extraordinary document was drawn up and agreed to, subject of course, to the approval of the Government, of which General Sherman seemed certain. The substance of the agreement was that the Confederate armies were to be disbanded and conducted to their several state capitals, deposit their arms and abide the action of the State and Federal authorities, the state governments to be recognized by the U. S. Executive on their officers taking the oath, Federal courts to be re-established, inhabitants of the states to be guaranteed, as far as possible by Executive authority, their political rights, no person to be disturbed so long as he obeyed the laws, and general amnesty. Even be-

fore the articles were sent in for approval they were publicly discussed, a fact which has some bearing on what followed. It did not need Grant's common sense or Stanton's legal acumen to pierce the web which these articles threw around the operations of the Government. The merest tyro in political law could see in them a practical recognition of all for which the Southerners had contended. True the armies were to be disbanded, and organized resistance was to cease, simply because it had to. There was recognition of every independent state government as fully and freely as South Carolina had demanded at the outset of the rebellion. Present peace was obtained, but no guarantee for the future, and nothing to prevent the "states" from organizing another rebellion as soon as they saw fit. Gen. Grant on receipt of the convention immediately notified Stanton and suggested an immediate Cabinet meeting, which was held, the terms disapproved and General Grant ordered to North Carolina. Grant told Sherman that he had read the agreement before submitting it to the President and Secretary of War, and he was satisfied that it would be disapproved. He was evidently the more certain of this because, as we have already seen, he had been cautioned to make no terms with anybody purporting to represent the Confederate Government beyond receiving the surrender of the armies. The settlement of the political questions belonged exclusively to the civil authorities, and the Sherman-Johnston protocol was really the work of Davis & Co.

When Gen. Grant reached North Carolina the surrender was completed on the same terms as given Lee.

Even General Sherman's brother, John Sherman, considered the arrangement a colossal blunder, and so wrote Stanton. General Sherman's great services to the country made everybody willing to condone the mistake, which was evidently caused by a laudable desire to bring immediate peace. It is a curious circumstance, however, that in the fall of 1863, when the capture of Vicksburg and other points had brought a large area of territory under control of the National authority, Gen. Sherman, at the request of Halleck submitted a plan for the government of the South diametrically opposite to the terms of the Johnston agreement. The paper is too long to give here, but it can be found in full in Sherman's memoirs, pages 335-43. In it he deems it very unwise to revive the state governments or to institute in that quarter at that time or for years to come any civil government in which the local people should have much to say. Among other things he declares:

I would banish all minor questions, assert the broad doctrine that as a Nation the United States has the right, and also the physical power, to penetrate to every part of our National domain, and that we will do it in our time, and in our own way; that it makes no difference whether it be in one year or two or ten or twenty * * * they have no right to immunity, protection or share in the final results.

Pointed words these, and yet they were all reversed by the Johnston agreement which conceded everything provided armed resistance, which was no longer possible, should cease.

While the agreement was disapproved by all who had any authority in the matter the General, whose temper was never the mildest, was especially angry with Secretary Stanton. He could not object because

his action was reversed, but complained that Stanton gave the matter to the public with the reasons for rescinding, some of which reflected on him personally. But the affair was already common talk in army circles, Sherman himself had issued a general order on the subject, it was utterly impossible to keep it secret even though there had been a disposition to do so, and the very fact that Sherman had done such great service made it all the more imperative that the public should be informed as to the reasons for not approving the arrangements. In fact the news was given out by the usual channels from the war office to Gen. Dix, a plan which had been adopted long before in order that the people might have reliable information from time to time concerning public events, instead of being misled by fake reports. Stanton spoke of the hope of Jeff Davis and others of being able to make arrangements with Union Generals by which they could escape to some foreign country with their plunder. Gen. Sherman took this as an imputation that he was open to bribery, but the words bear no such construction.

An unpleasant incident is reported to have occurred later during the grand review at Washington, when Sherman was said to have refused Stanton's proffered hand. This is denied by some of the eye-witnesses, and as the principals never made any declaration on the subject, it is hardly worth while to pursue it. The country will not forget General Sherman's services because of a political mistake, nor will it think the less of Stanton for preventing the Nation from falling into a pitfall.

Not less in importance than the activities of the war, even if not quite so dramatic, was to properly

check and finally stop the immense machinery through which the great conflict had been conducted. Over a million troops were in arms, thousands of vessels were in commission, enormous quantities of supplies had been gathered, munitions of war were being manufactured on a scale heretofore unknown, and a great army of civilians attached more or less closely to the military service had to be disposed of. All these forces had to be diverted into the ordinary channels of peace without demoralizing the industrial interests of the country. It is scarcely necessary to say that the carrying out of this necessary work fell on the War Department. Immediately after Lee's surrender Stanton gave notice that all drafting, recruiting and purchase of supplies would be stopped, the army reduced to a peace footing, and trade restrictions removed. Lincoln's assassination delayed matters a few days, but on April 28, two days after Johnston's surrender, even before all the rebel forces had given up, work began in earnest. Within sixty-seven days 640,806 troops had been mustered out, at the rate of over 1,000 an hour, and by November 15, over 800,000 had returned to their homes. Along with this reductions were made everywhere, thousands of tons of junk sold, and the ease with which all this was accomplished was the marvel of the world. Stanton's final report is a wonderful epitome of the operations of the war, and a resume of the wonderful work. One sentence from it gives an idea of the work that had constantly been going on during the previous three years:

"After the disasters on the Peninsula in 1862 over 80,000 troops were enlisted, organized, armed and equipped, and sent into the field in less than a

month. Sixty thousand troops have repeatedly gone to the field within four weeks; and 90,000 infantry were sent to the armies from the five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin within twenty days."

Long before the disbandment of the armies the relations which the people of the sections hitherto in rebellion should hereafter bear to the General Government became a leading question. Temporary governments had been established in Tennessee, Louisiana and elsewhere, but the basis of their support was the military authority, and in the event of its withdrawal it was conceded that they would promptly go out of existence. Now that the rebel armies were disbanded and the people were apparently ready to submit to the National authority, it was apparent that no makeshift arrangement would further suffice. To what extent should there be punishment for the past and guarantees for the future? What should be the status of the freedmen (the 13th amendment had not yet been ratified by the requisite number of states), should Union men alone be permitted to take part in reconstruction or were the ex-rebels to have perhaps a predominating share? Stanton, just before Lincoln's death, had prepared a plan for temporary military government, which seems to have been forgotten in the excitement following the assassination. Even before Lincoln's death there had been discussion as to whether the seceding states had ever been out of the Union, the inference being if they were, then the ordinances of secession were valid, and the Confederacy was a legal government, but if invalid then the states were still intact and sovereign, and all their governments had to do

was to send their representatives to Congress as though nothing had happened. President Lincoln brushed this sophistry aside with the remark that when they were once back home it was useless to inquire whether they had ever been abroad. But there was the concrete question to meet. There were men claiming to be Governors of States, and legislatures so-called preparing to assemble notwithstanding the disapproval of the Sherman—Johnston convention. They were ready to make terms with the Government, fix the status of the ex-slaves and perform any other functions necessary. Stanton immediately saw that this would not do. The secession ordinances were void *ab initio*, and their formal repeal was not only superfluous but a reassertion of state sovereignty. But one thing was clear. The people of that section had acted under those ordinances for four years, raised armies and carried on rebellion. The Government was forced to crush this rebellion, and in the process not only was the Confederacy as a body overthrown but all its component parts. When the war closed there was not a vestige of legal government existing in any part of the rebellious section except through the military power of the United States. The "states" were mere geographical expressions whose old boundary lines were retained for convenience, but which could be and were disregarded when the situation demanded it. It was the province of the Government to begin at the foundation and rebuild the structure which had not only been thrown down but obliterated as thoroughly as was St. Pierre by the eruption of Mt. Pelee. Who should be used in this reconstruction? President Johnson on taking

office was so bitter against all ex-rebels that even the most radical Republicans in the North like Ben Wade feared that there would be inaugurated a series of bloody reprisals. The Unionists did not want revenge, or even indemnity for the lives and treasures expended, they did want sure guarantees for the future. Stanton was of the opinion that only loyal hands should be called to reconstruct the Southern states, and at the first Johnson not only agreed with him, but, himself a Southerner, betrayed a bitterness towards the ex Confederates not shared by his party associates. Seward seems to have been the first to propose that conciliation should be carried so far as to call ex-Confederates of prominence into the work of reorganization, and when the Southern leaders discovered which way the wind was blowing they were quick to take advantage of it. Johnson was not impervious to flattery and deference from the men who in ante-bellum days had despised him, and it was not long before he was thoroughly in accord with them. A proclamation of general amnesty was issued, to which as a whole there was no serious objection, but it soon became apparent that loyalists in the South, where they existed, were ostracised, and could have no part or lot in the new governments. To sum up, before Congress met in December every "state" lately in rebellion had a "provisional" governor and newly elected legislature. Most, if not all of them, repealed the ordinances of secession, which was as has been suggested, a work of supererogation, if not a reassertion of State sovereignty. Being urged by the President they ratified the 13th amendment without much opposition, as nearly everybody in the South was conscious that slavery was dead beyond any hope

of resurrection. When the Confederate Congress in its last desperate days decided to arm the blacks it put the last nail in the coffin of the peculiar institution. So of the rebel debt, it was discredited some time before hostilities closed, and its repudiation was already an accomplished fact.

But if the negroes were constitutionally free they were soon to learn that statutorily their condition was not very much changed. What is known as the "Black Code" became a feature, of which we have only room for a few sample extracts. The state of Mississippi provided that the probate courts should apprentice all negro orphans, and all whose parents did not provide for them (quite a broad proposition), under the age of eighteen, to some suitable person "provided that the former owner of said minors shall have preference, who could inflict corporal punishment, and there was a penalty for running away. All over eighteen without lawful employment could be imprisoned. An annual head tax of one dollar was levied, and failure to pay was followed by hiring out such negro to any person who would pay the fine, tax, forfeiture and costs. No negro could rent farm land, and everyone must have a city home or enter into a labor contract, which if he violated by running away, he could be arrested and brought back to his master. Persons who gave food to said runaway could be fined and imprisoned. "Insulting gestures" were a crime, and if any negro brought suit against a white man which the court decided to be "malicious" he was fined and then "hired" to whoever would pay the fine. It is difficult to see wherein lay any efficacy of the 13th amendment with such codes as this in a community prepared to make the most of them.

It is not to be supposed that all this was going on without protests from the North, not unmixed with alarm, lest the President withdraw the military Governors already appointed, and the fruits of the war be completely nullified. Stanton voiced these protests, and warned Seward that if Johnson withdrew them and set up Governors of his own he would be a usurper. He heeded the warning, and the military remained.

Such was the situation when Congress met, and it appointed a committee on reconstruction to investigate the situation. The President intimated that the states lately in rebellion were now provided with legal governments, and all that Congress had to do was to admit their Senators and Representatives provided they were personally qualified. Congress refused to adopt this view, and agreed with Stanton that the legality of the so-called state governments must be settled before they were entitled to representation in Congress. This was the beginning of a struggle which extended over a period nearly as long as the war itself. The Supreme Court had nearly a quarter of a century before in what was known as the *Dorr* rebellion in Rhode Island decided that it rested with Congress to decide what government is the established one in a state, which made the position of the President entirely untenable.

A branch of the War Department, known as the Freedman's Bureau, had been created for the purpose of aiding those lately made free in making proper use of their liberty. In view of recent developments in the South its extension was deemed absolutely necessary, and Congress passed an amendment which the President, against Stanton's protest, vetoed on Feb-

ruary 19, 1866, mainly because the Southern States were not represented in Congress. The bill failed of passage in the Senate over the veto, and that useful institution came to an end. However, in response to the President's insinuations both houses passed a resolution that no such representatives should be received in Congress until that body decided that their states were entitled to representation. Mr. Johnson followed this by an incendiary speech pronouncing the resolution the work of "an irresponsible directory."

Investigation soon proved that no Union men, white or black, had any rights in the South, save as they were protected by the military, which the President somewhat inconsistently still allowed to remain, in fact the blacks were being reduced to a state of servitude worse than that from which they had escaped. Accordingly Congress, under the lead of Senator Trumbull, passed the Civil Rights bill, which was vetoed, although Stanton advised its approval. Congress passed the bill over the veto. On April 2 the President attempted to subvert the operations of Congress by a proclamation declaring the states lately in rebellion fully restored to their rights and privileges, but it does not seem to have attracted special attention. Johnson, however, evidently felt that he needed some bolstering, and accordingly on May 22, in pursuance of a plan carried out by A. W. Randall, of Wisconsin, afterwards Postmaster General, there was a serenade to the President and Cabinet. Mr. Stanton made a moderate and carefully prepared speech, reciting what had been accomplished by the war and their duties thereafter. He referred to his approval of the Freedman's Bureau bill, but Con-

gress having failed to pass it over the veto, it was now a dead letter, but the Civil Rights bill was now the law of the land and should be observed. A proposition in the proposed 14th Amendment to the Constitution providing for the exclusion of all rebels from the right of suffrage until July 4, 1870, he characterized as unwise, and a few days later the Senate unanimously struck out this provision. Concerning negro suffrage, which had been mooted at the sennade, Stanton declared:

By some it was thought just and expedient that the right of suffrage in the rebel states should be secured in some form, to the colored inhabitants of those States; either as a universal rule or to those qualified by education, or by actual service as soldiers who ventured life for their government. My own mind inclined to this view, but after calm and full discussion, my judgment yielded to the adverse arguments resting upon the practical difficulties to be encountered in such a measure, and to the President's conviction that to prescribe the rule of suffrage was not within the legitimate scope of his power.

It will be seen by this that it was not the intention of any political party at the close of the rebellion to force negro rule upon the Southern people. There was nothing in this speech to justify the President in any violent action against Stanton, but it was apparent that he considered the Secretary an obstacle to the carrying out of his plans. He could not be removed while Congress was in session for the Senate would not confirm a successor, so he bided his time.

A bill was presented in Congress that spring creating the rank of General of the Army for Grant's special benefit. It hung fire for some time until Stanton went before the committee in charge and urged its adoption, although he had reason to believe

that Grant was not in full sympathy with him at that time.

Congress adjourned on July 27, there having been several changes in the Cabinet. Randall had become Postmaster General in place of Dennison, Stanbery Attorney General in place of Speed, and O. H. Browning Secretary of the Interior in place of Harlan, a Johnson Cabinet out and out, with the exception of Stanton.

Three days after Congress adjourned there was a bloody riot in New Orleans in which 40 persons engaged in a peaceable convention were killed, and 136 wounded, their assailants suffering the loss of one killed and ten wounded. Gen. Sheridan, who was directed to secure information, directly charged the responsibility on the city authorities, who were ex-Confederates and antagonistic to the reconstruction measures long ago inaugurated by Lincoln and Stanton, and for whose sudden restoration to power President Johnson was directly responsible. Stanton instructed Sheridan to keep the War Department posted pending investigation, but nothing more could be done then.

Several political conventions were held that year favoring and opposing the President's policy. The first was a so-called national convention at Philadelphia on August 14, composed of delegates from both North and South, the principal feature of which was the somewhat spectacular procession of the Massachusetts and South Carolina delegates marching through the hall arm in arm. A very light convention of soldiers was held at Cleveland on the 17th following the same lines. To offset these a convention

of Southern loyalists and Northern Unionists was held at Philadelphia on September 3d, and an immense gathering of ex-Union Soldiers and Sailors at Pittsburgh on September 25th.

It was recognized that the relations between Johnson and Stanton were becoming strained, and ordinarily under such conditions a Cabinet officer would tender his resignation. But Stanton's position was now considered so necessary to the public welfare that he was strongly urged to remain. It was proposed to offer a resolution to that effect at the Pittsburgh convention, but at Stanton's earnest request this was not done.

The President now began a series of removals from office, replacing tried Union men, very frequently Union soldiers, with his own adherents, which only had the effect of intensifying public sentiment. In order to counteract the prevailing drift of public opinion a stumping tour was arranged, ostensibly to attend the dedication of a monument to Stephen A. Douglas, at Chicago, but which received the popular designation of "swinging 'round the circle." Secretary Stanton and wife were invited to join the party, but declined. Grant, and probably Farragut, were impelled to go by orders which they did not feel at liberty to decline. Seward, Welles and Randall were in the party. Previous to leaving Washington, the President made a speech in which he spoke of Congress as a body hanging on the verge of the Government, and this was only the keynote of worse to follow. The tour does not make a creditable showing on the pages of American history, and we shall only refer to the stop at Steubenville on the return trip

on the afternoon of September 13. It was not Johnson's first visit here. Some three years before he had addressed a large crowd at the old C. & P. station at the foot of South street, and had been greeted with the enthusiasm naturally felt towards one who had been loyal to his country amid a hostile environment. Now as the train pulled across Market street and stopped at what is now the Pan Handle station, there were loud cries for Grant and Farragut, but none for Johnson. Col. G. W. McCook waved his hand to insure silence to hear Johnson, but the crowd had read his speeches elsewhere, and was in no mood to listen. George Custer, then a young cavalry officer, who afterwards met his sad fate in the Yellowstone region, proposed cheers for the Union, Army and Navy, Grant, etc., which were given with a will, but the call for similar cheers for Johnson fell flat. The President made a few general remarks, and as the train moved off there was a great rush to shake hands with Grant, who was at one of the windows.

If anything was needed to turn the country against Johnson this trip would have done it, and the Union party in Congress was largely reinforced in the elections that fall by which a good working majority of two-thirds was secured, not only allowing all necessary legislation regardless of the President's veto, but rendering innocuous the vague threats that the President would organize the new Congress by recognizing members from the South with a sufficient number of their sympathizers in the North to form a constitutional majority.

In September, 1866, Congressman Ashley wrote Stanton concerning the situation, and received from

him a reply too long to be published here in which he expressed his longing to be freed from the cares of office, and relating how, on the eve of Lee's surrender, he had tendered Lincoln his resignation, and the latter's response already given on page 257. When he told Lincoln of the preparations made for conducting the Department after his resignation the latter responded that this was the very reason he must stay and carry out his plans. He somewhat plaintively adds: "When I thought it safe to resign I could not, and now that I can resign I dare not." He predicted that the course of Johnson and Seward would bring on a reign of chaos and bloodshed in the South that would horrify the civilized world, a prediction that was abundantly verified. Stanton was suffering at this time from his old asthmatic complaint and pains in the head that made life almost unbearable. At this time Johnson seems to have had considerable influence over Grant, although the latter's common sense soon revolted at that connection.

A short time after this letter, in a communication to Peter H. Watson, with the view of collecting material for an official record of the war, which is conceded to be the greatest work of the kind ever compiled, Stanton again expressed his expectation of shortly retiring from the Cabinet. But protests came from every quarter, and public opinion was so decided that the President had not yet dared to demand Stanton's resignation. Early in 1867, however, Congress passed a number of acts over the President's veto, including the admission of Nebraska as a state, establishing universal suffrage in the District of Columbia, and what is known as the tenure of office bill

to prevent the removal of Stanton, although the latter did not ask for any such protection, and was in fact opposed to the measure. A law was also passed dividing the lately revolted section into five military districts, and requiring the President to assign a commander to each district to protect the rights of persons and property and to suppress disorder. This was really the first of the so-called reconstruction acts. It was designed to supersede Johnson's provisional governments, which were conceded to be subject to Congressional approval, and provided a method by which the people of the revolted states might frame a constitution, which, when approved by Congress, would rehabilitate them upon the ratification of the 14th amendment. Tennessee had already ratified the amendment and been admitted to Congress to Johnson's disgust, and he exerted every influence to prevent the example from spreading. Gen. Lee and other conservative Southerners had approved this amendment which left the question of negro suffrage completely in the hands of the states, with the single proviso that no disfranchised race should be counted in apportioning Congressional representation, a proposition so reasonable as to call for general acceptance. It was a just and magnanimous settlement of the war issues, and had not Johnson's influence been thrown into the adverse scale its prompt ratification would have been assured.

A long list of categorical questions was submitted to the Cabinet in reference to the binding effect of the new reconstruction law, and all the members of the Cabinet answered agreeably to the President's wishes except Stanton, but his legal propositions

were so convincing that preparations were made to carry out the law at least in a perfunctory manner.

During this year a meeting was held in Steubenville at which Stanton was indorsed for the Presidency, but events brought General Grant to the front as Stanton himself had predicted.

Believing that it would not be safe to trust the country in the hands of the President the 39th Congress before adjourning provided by law for the assembling of the 40th Congress on March 4, 1867, instead of waiting until the first Monday in December. A supplementary reconstruction act was passed, providing for election of delegates to conventions to frame new constitutions. Universal suffrage had been provided. The supplementary act was the work of Mr. Stanton, designed to supply deficiencies in the original law. Grant at this time was in full accord with Congress and Stanton. Congress adjourned on March 30th to July 3d, when the final legislation was enacted, and on July 20th another adjournment was had until November 3.

Finding Stanton an insuperable obstacle in the way of carrying out his plans Congress had no sooner adjourned than Johnson began to consider by what means he could get rid of his obstreperous Secretary. On August 1 he called Grant into consultation regarding the removal of Stanton, and General Sheridan, then in command at New Orleans. Grant gave his written views strongly against both propositions, referring to the tenure of office act as applying to Stanton in whom "the country felt great confidence." Johnson had gone too far to retreat, so on August 5th he sent a note to Stanton, saying, "Public considera-

tions of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as Secretary of War will be accepted." Promptly Stanton replied: "In reply I have the honor to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this department, constrain me not to resign the office of Secretary of War before the next meeting of Congress." As soon as this transaction was made public a flood of protests against the resignation came from all over the country, Mr. Stanton being recognized as the only breakwater, so far as the executive department of the Government was concerned, against the tidal wave of Southern domination. A week later the President issued an order suspending Stanton and appointing Grant Secretary of War ad interim until Congress should meet in November. Stanton replied denying the right under the Constitution and laws to suspend him, but for the time being he submitted to superior force as the appointee was General of the Army. We have seen that Grant was opposed to the removal of Stanton and had told the President so, but he regarded the appointment as an order from his superior officer which he was not at liberty to disobey. It was claimed by the President and several members of the Cabinet that Grant agreed to keep Stanton out of the War Department in case the Senate refused to confirm the appointment, but if so this agreement was not carried out.

In one respect the suspension was a good thing for Stanton. It gave him a breathing spell so badly needed, and a chance to take a little rest. When he left the War office he had just \$4.76 in his pocket

from his previous month's salary without a dollar of ready money anywhere else, although he owned some real estate purchased before his appointment. He paid out of his meagre salary many things which are now provided by the Government, for instance, hire of carriages used in public service, etc. Gen. Moorhead, an old Pittsburgh friend, loaned him \$3,000, and he and his family visited Samuel Hooper at Cape Cod, where the ocean breezes seemed to rejuvenate him. From there he visited Mr. and Mrs. Gregory Smith at St. Albans, Vt. His asthma temporarily disappeared, he played with the children, talked war tales with his host, in fact Mars, as Lincoln called him had become Dionysus (not Bacchus) and it would have been better for him personally had he never re-entered public life. It was a satisfaction to him, however, to learn that Grant was taking proper care of the situation at the war office.

During this year Judge J. S. Black and others attempted to interrupt the operation of the reconstruction acts through the courts, but Stanton beat them there, and his programme was carried out.

On December 12th the President notified the Senate of Stanton's suspension, because he had been defiant, upheld the tenure of office act after advising its veto, at first favored the policy of reconstruction and then opposed it, and failed to exculpate the President from responsibility for the New Orleans riot. Stanton's reply to this was an able state paper which convicted the President on every point. His "defiance" was declining to resign at the President's demand, not on personal grounds but for "public considerations." To have acted otherwise would have

been an admission of wrong doing and a betrayal of trust. As to the tenure of office bill he did not favor its passage, but when it became the law of the land he counseled obedience thereto. He favored Johnson's earlier reconstruction policy, but when the latter faced about he could not follow him. As to the New Orleans riot he was not Mr. Johnson's accuser, but he presented an array of facts showing that an "exculpation" of Johnson would have been a task even beyond the Herculean energy of the Secretary. He added:

It is true that in this case personal considerations would have led me long ago to sever my relations with Mr. Johnson. But under authority from Congress, and Mr. Lincoln's order, I had as Secretary of War put over a million of men in the field, and I was unwilling to abandon the victory they had won, or to see the "lost cause" restored over the graves of nearly 400,000 soldiers, or to witness four millions of freedmen subjected, for want of legal protection, to outrages against their lives, persons and property, and their race in danger of being returned to some newly invented bondage. For these reasons I have resolved to bear all and suffer all while contending against such results.

The matter was referred to the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, which promptly reported against concurring in the suspension. In the debate which followed the stale charge about Stanton refusing to exchange prisoners was brought up and the Secretary fully vindicated, as previously shown in these pages. The Senate on the evening of January 13th, by a vote of 35 to 6, adopted the report of the committee, and early the next morning Stanton went to the War office and resumed his functions. Grant seems to have been somewhat nettled that he did not notify him of his coming, but this was a matter of

little importance, besides, as after events proved, it was not advisable to waste time in much ceremony. Johnson was furious when he learned that Stanton was back in the War office and attempted to get up a scheme to oust him by force, but Grant and Sherman refusing to have anything to do with it the project was dropped. Grant was summoned to a Cabinet meeting where he was still addressed as Secretary of War until he reminded the President that he was not filling that office. Shortly after Johnson attacked Grant in some severe letters understood to be written by J. S. Black, to which the latter responded calmly but pointedly, concluding that he could not but regard this whole matter as an attempt to involve him in a resistance to the law for which he (Johnson) hesitated to assume the responsibility. Failing with Grant, Sherman was tried, who bluntly declined. Johnson now determined to take the bull by the horns, and on February 21 he issued an order peremptorily removing Stanton and appointing Gen. Lorenzo Thomas in his place as Secretary ad interim. Stanton informed Congress of this action, and sent the following to Thomas:

I am informed that you have presumed to issue orders as Secretary of War ad interim. Such conduct and orders are illegal, and you are hereby commanded to abstain from issuing any orders other than in your capacity as Adjutant General of the army.

Subsequently he commanded General Grant to arrest Thomas for disobedience to superior authority in refusing to obey his orders as Secretary of War. This order was taken by A. S. Worthington to Grant, who came immediately to the War office and had a private conference with the Secretary. The arrest

was not made, but Grant would have nothing thereafter to do with Johnson. By this time the excitement in Washington was intense, and scarcely less so all over the country as each successive movement in this drama was flashed over the wires.

Thomas and even Johnson were very free that night with threats as to what they intended to do the next morning in the way of breaking into the War office and ousting Stanton by force if necessary. Hearing of this Stanton sent a note to the Senate then in session, asking how he was to hold possession unless the Senate should declare its opinion of the law. A resolution was at once adopted that under the Constitution the President had no power to remove the Secretary of War and designate any other officer to perform the duties of that office ad interim. The resolution was delivered to Stanton at 10 o'clock, and he with a large gathering of friends remained at the office all night guarding the premises. A complaint was made against Thomas, who appeared before Court the next morning and entered into a recognizance to appear on the 26th. As soon as he was released, acting under orders from the President, he appeared at the War office and demanded possession, which being refused he left. At the request of Stanton Grant sent a guard to prevent any seizure of the building by force.

A large Congressional delegation had petitioned Stanton to on no account resign his office, and this was backed up by scores of individual protests against anything of the kind. But the question was narrowing down to the conclusion that if the President was acting within the scope of his authority

Stanton would be compelled to go, while if he was defying the law no other course was open save impeachment. On the 21st Hon. John Covode offered a resolution to that effect in the House, which was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction. The committee reported the resolution back the next day, and it was adopted on the 24th. Messrs. Boutwell, Stevens, Wilson, Logan, Julian and Ward were appointed a committee to prepare articles for presentation to the Senate, but according to Mr. Flower the ten articles were dictated by Stanton to A. S. Worthington, to which the managers added a summary in article XI. The principal charges were violation of the tenure of office act in attempting to eject Stanton, treasonable utterances, etc., but the first named charge was the crux of the whole affair.

Gen. Thomas appeared at the War office on the 24th "by order of the President" to enter upon his duties of Secretary but was commanded not to assume any of the functions of that office. Thomas was discharged from custody on the 26th, as impeachment proceedings had in the meantime begun against the President which would test the whole question. The War office was carefully guarded up to the time that Stanton resigned. The impeachment trial proper began on March 30th. The President was defended by the ablest counsel that could be gathered in the country, including Henry Stanberry, B. R. Curtiss, Thomas A. R. Nelson, Wm. M. Evarts and Wm. S. Groesbeck. The first vote, which was on article XI, was taken on May 16. The Senate was composed of 54 members, requiring two-thirds or 36 votes to convict. The roll call disclosed 35 ayes and 19 nays;

just one short of conviction. The affirmative votes were all Republican, and the negative 12 Democrats and 7 Republicans. The Senate adjourned to May 26th, when a vote was taken on the second and third articles with the same result. Among the negative Republicans was Fowler, of Tennessee, Johnson's state, and a native of Jefferson county, in Stanton's own state. Two objections were urged against conviction under the Tenure of Office bill, one being its alleged unconstitutionality, and the other being that the very man it was supposed to protect was excluded from its operation. When the bill was under consideration Cabinet officers were excluded from its provisions, but with the avowed purpose of protecting Stanton the exception was stricken out, and every such appointee became entitled to hold his office during the term for which he was appointed, unless removed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, &c. Stanton was appointed by Lincoln in 1862 and had never been reappointed by Johnson, consequently he was still holding over, while Johnson's own appointees in which nobody was interested were fully protected. Under the circumstances it was a bungling piece of legislation, at least open to two interpretations. But the mere removal of a Cabinet officer, however worthy, would not have agitated Congress and the country to the extent of demanding impeachment had it not been for the larger questions involved. Every Republican believed Johnson responsible for the practical failure of reconstruction based on the moderate provisions of the 14th amendment, that he was in sympathy with if not responsible for the acts of the New Orleans rioters, and that he was the

great obstacle to a peaceful and satisfactory restoration of the Union. This feeling kept cropping out throughout the impeachment trial, when it was feared that if Johnson was acquitted he would put one of his creatures in Stanton's place who would encourage rather than check his operations. To counteract this impression, and hold out a sort of olive branch, Mr. Evarts and others of the more conservative of Johnson's advisers suggested that a conference be held with General Schofield, with the view of nominating him for Secretary of War, which would quiet the fears of those Republicans who were in doubt about Johnson's technical guilt, but who were anxious to preserve the results of the war. This conference is related in detail by Gen. Schofield in the *Century Magazine* for August, 1897. Schofield regarded the removal of Mr. Stanton as wrong and unwise, and gave Evarts to understand that if he was appointed it would be on the basis of a just and faithful administration of the reconstruction acts. He was nominated on April 24, and was confirmed after the impeachment had failed, but we are without information as to what effect this movement had on the result of the trial.

Mr. Stanton upon learning the result of the impeachment trial turned over the War Department to Adjutant General Townsend, subject to the disposal and direction of the President, a note having been sent to the latter relinquishing the office.

During the progress of the trial Gen. Lorenzo Thomas sat with members of the Cabinet at their meetings, but his authority was not recognized by anybody except the President. Schofield was con-

firm ed on May 29, and on June 1st Congress passed the following resolution:

That the thanks of Congress are due, and are hereby tendered to the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, for the great ability, purity and fidelity to the cause of the country with which he has discharged the duties of Secretary of War, as well amid the open dangers of a great rebellion as at a later period when assailed by the opposition inspired by hostility to the measures of justice and pacification provided by Congress for the restoration of a real and permanent peace.

CHAPTER XVII.

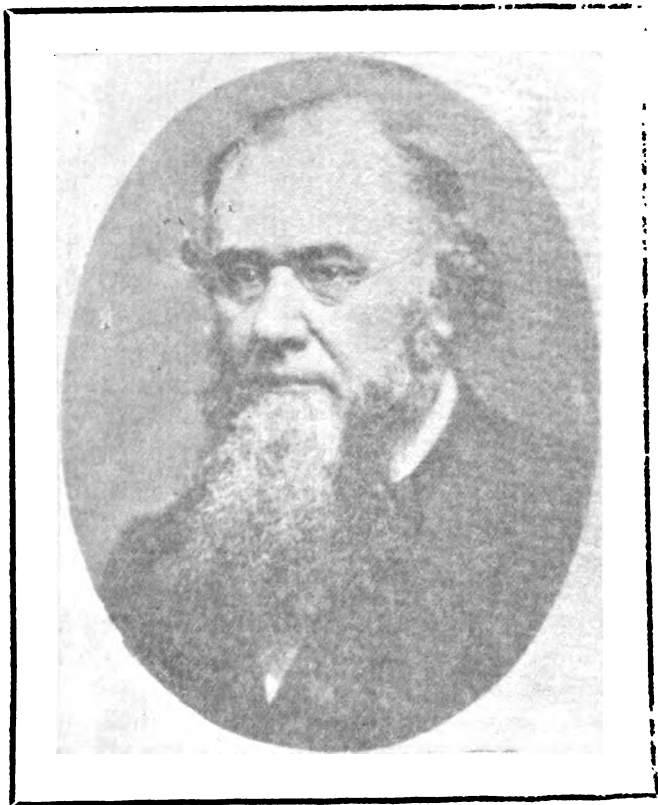
THE LAST CAMPAIGN.

Resumes Law Practice—Political Campaign of 1868—Great Speech at Steubenville—Review of the War and Eulogy of Grant.

Mr. Stanton was broken down in both health and fortune when he left the War Department. There were friends who would have subscribed sufficient to support him at least moderately, but he declined all such offers, and turned to picking up the threads of his legal business which had so long been neglected. It was too late however to do much in this line.

Before the final result of the impeachment trial the Republican National Convention had nominated General Grant for the Presidency, and subsequently the Democrats nominated Governor Seymour, of New York, and F. P. Blair for President and Vice President, on a platform declaring the Government bonds payable in greenbacks, and the reconstruction acts usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void. In the latter convention Col. G. W. McCook, Stanton's former law partner, was Chairman of the Ohio delegation, and when it became evident that Pendleton, who was Ohio's choice, could not be nominated, on behalf of the delegation he proposed Horatio Seymour, who was enthusiastically chosen. Although physically in no condition to engage in a political campaign, yet Stanton took a keen interest

in the course of events. Arrangements were made for a great Republican demonstration at Steubenville on September 25, which was expected to eclipse the outgatherings of 1840, and Stanton agreed to come and make a speech, the first formal address he had made on political matters for many years. The meeting was a success in point of numbers, but a continuous downpour of rain put an effectual damper on the outdoor demonstration which was postponed to a later date. The largest building in the city was what was known as Kilgore Hall on Market street, since enlarged into the National theatre. The seats were removed, and at the hour of meeting the hall was a compact mass of standing auditors. The writer has a vivid recollection of the impression Stanton made as he walked slowly towards the front of the platform. Was that feeble tottering man the giant who had borne on his shoulders the weight of the greatest rebellion the world had ever known? Was this the man whose very look paralyzed the fraudulent contractor, the government thief, or the smooth tongued spy? Stanton was not quite 54 years old, but he had condensed a long lifetime in the previous six years. He sat while delivering his address, but when he came to a climax or a point which he wished to emphasize he slowly arose from his chair, and with his outstretched arm and deep penetrating voice he gave one an idea of the Stanton of ante-bellum days. The speech was a most powerful one, and was an exhaustive review of the causes which led to the War of the Rebellion, the sacrifices made to preserve the Union, a sketch of General Grant's career and the issues involved in that campaign. Hon. R. Sherrard



HON. EDWIN M. STANTON

Photograph by Davison Filson.
September 25, 1868.

presided, and special reporters were present from the New York Tribune and other leading journals. In this address Mr. Stanton said:

Friends and Fellow Citizens: The time is rapidly approaching when you will be called upon to choose whom you will trust with the chief executive power of this nation for the next four years, who shall exercise the law-making power as your Representatives in Congress during the next Congressional term. You have never made a choice so important to yourselves, to your country and to mankind. For upon it may rest, the choice of peace or of war, of domestic tranquility or civil discord, freedom or slavery, in short of all the blessings that can follow good government, or the evils that bad government can inflict upon the human race. At the last Presidential election the country was in the midst of a bloody war, and had for three years been struggling in resistance against rebellion. The fortune of war was so varied that some patriots began to feel doubtful as to the result; others were hopeless. On the one hand the rebels strove in military power, and encouraged by sympathetic league with friends in the Northern and Western states were bold and defiant, and boasted that they only needed for the final success that their friends in the Northern states would carry the Presidential election. These friends who had resisted the war at every stage, were equally bold and confident in their expectation that their hour of triumph was at hand, but these hopes and expectations were doomed to ignominious overthrow at the polls by the election of Abraham Lincoln, and on the field of battle by our armies under the command of General Grant. Overwhelmed by these disasters, political and military, the rebels gave up in despair, declared their cause the "lost cause" and humbly sued for life, liberty and property, professing to be deeply grateful for the generous terms that were offered.

Of the causes that led to the rebellion and a justification of the Nation in prosecuting the war it is needless here to dwell. They are still fresh in your recollection. The graves of 300,000 patriot soldiers slain in battle by the rebels are still green; the tears of orphans, widows and bereaved parents still flow, and the maimed and wounded soldiers around us are living memorials of the cruelty of the rebels in their war against the United States Government. You will bear in mind, however, that the rebellion was occasioned by a thirty years' conspiracy of those whom Mr. Johnson boldly termed the slave-

holding oligarchy of the Southern states—an oligarchy based upon land monopoly and slave labor. This slaveholding aristocracy thirsted to extend its territory and political power, and by extending its system into the free states, to obtain a monopoly of the fertile lands and rich minerals of those states, and ultimately obtain control of the Government. Experience has shown that the systems of free labor and slave labor are hostile and cannot exist together, so that the foothold of slavery is an impassable barrier to free emigration, and would give to the slaveholders not only a monopoly of lands, products and minerals but would command all the great channels of commerce with the Pacific and the nations of the East, and make them the richest people on the face of the globe. This ambitious aim was sternly resisted in the Northern states. Mindful of the fortune of war, and fearful of delay, the first election of Mr. Lincoln was deemed by the slaveholders a fitting occasion for the outbreak of this rebellion. On the day after the Presidential election the flag of the United States was hauled down and the Palmetto flag run up in Charleston. Conventions for secession were called in all the slaveholding states, and very soon ten states organized a so-called Confederate government, hostile to the Government of the United States, at Montgomery, and transferred its capital to Richmond. Immediately afterwards, forts, arsenals, magazines, arms, ammunition, ship yards, ships of war and the public money were seized and converted to the purpose of the rebels. The navigation of the Ohio and Potomac was closed. Northern men and Northern women were imprisoned or banished. In the slaveholding states armies were levied. The forts and troops of the United States were besieged, bombarded and captured, and the capitol of the Nation at Washington was beleaguered and threatened by a hostile force.

In this condition of things the first troops were called out in defense of this Nation and the first war loan negotiated, and for every life that has been lost, every drop of blood that has been expended, every dollar that has been laid out, every bond or note that has been laid out, every tax that has been collected, the slave-holding aristocracy is responsible. They and their sympathizers in the Northern and Western states urged them to hold on, to carry on the war until they could obtain control of the Government at the next Presidential election. The measures of Mr. Lincoln to defend the Government received the highest sanction. The Governors and Legislatures of loyal states vied with each other in urging enlistments. Congress at its first session voted an army of 500,000 men

and \$500,000,000 to support them. The people flocked from their homes by thousands and thousands to join the army. The soldiers in every camp from the Mississippi to the Rapidan, from every corps, brigade and regiment and company shouted to their brethren at home to stand by the Government and rally round the flag. These measures of defense were not without opposition, for about the very time that Sherman and his army were forcing their way over the fortifications and intrenchments at Atlanta, the convention at Chicago declared the war to be a failure, and demanded the cessation of hostilities. This made a plain and broad issue and soon became the great issue of the Presidential canvass. The result was decisive. Twenty-one states, 213 Electoral votes, over 28,000,000 of people supported the Government. The estimate of Grant upon this result is expressed in the following telegram.

"City Point, Nov. 10, 1864—10:30 P. M. The Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War. Enough now seems to be known who is to hold the reins of Government for the next four years. Congratulate the President for this double victory. The election having passed off quietly with no bloodshed or riot throughout the land is a victory worth more to the country than a battle won. Rebellion and Europe will so consider it.
U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General."

The people, the army and the great commander thus sustained the emancipation proclamation which had been issued on the first of January, 1863. Abraham Lincoln had struck a blow at the roots of the rebellion by liberating four million slaves, strengthening our army and carrying dismay into the hearts of the rebels. The full effect of this great measure was not appreciated until near the close of the war, but now when the restoration of slavery is a cherished hope of those most hostile to the election of General Grant, it cannot be too well considered. The wealth and power of the rebels was mainly in the slaves; they were the producing and laboring class, and without their labor the plantations were of little value. By the system of forced and unpaid labor the rebel master was able to sow his land, gather his crops, feed and clothe his family and furnish supplies to the army while the whole white population should engage in war. It was then that slavery was soon found to be a mighty engine of war more powerful than belonged to any other people, but it was different in the Northern states. Every Union soldier that left his home to join the army went from the farm, the workshop or the manufactory, and diminished the productive industry of the state in his ab-

sence. His crops were ungathered and rotted upon the ground. The hammer was silent. The manufactory stood still. He had no slave to work to support his family and do his labor for nothing. But the emancipation of slaves changed the position of parties. The slaves cut loose from the plantations, flocked within our lines, thousands upon thousands, joined our armies and performed military work. The condition of the war was therefore in some degree equalized, and this great act of Mr. Lincoln carried dismay into the hearts of the rebels, and strengthened the hearts of loyal people; besides a large and powerful party who regarded slavery as a God-forbidden sin and crime and had been laboring for years to abolish it, gathered new hope, and renewed their strength to bring the war to a close.

Three things mainly contributed to the overthrow of the rebellion; first, the valor of our soldiers and the skill of their commanders; second, the public faith and credit which enabled us to raise money to supply the army and provide for its wants; and, third, the emancipation of the slaves, which diminished their power and gave us strength. The credit and good faith of a State is essential to its existence, and they constitute the sinews of its power. But no government can exist without credit sufficient to meet extraordinary emergencies, for no government can in these times keep money in the treasury sufficient to carry on a foreign or domestic war, construct a great national work like the Pacific railroad, or meet many exigencies that happen in the life of a nation. France, Russia, Austria, Great Britain, Spain, Italy and the Papal States, and all the great powers of the world are compelled to rely upon their credit to meet great emergencies. This was eminently the case with the United States, for when the rebellion broke out the treasury was empty, its arms and magazines had been plundered, and there was no means to carry on the war. By the efforts of our enemies, credit abroad was cut off so that the Government must fall at the first stroke of the rebellion or rely upon the faith of the people and its domestic credit. The Government belonged to the people, and they were equal to the emergency. By the purchase of bonds and current notes enough money was raised to meet the emergencies of the war, the treasury was filled, and there was little necessity in the treasury from the beginning to the end of the war, and then only for short periods until a fresh appeal could be made, and thus it happened that the public faith and the public credit

became a cornerstone of the State, and contributed largely to the salvation of the Government.

When the war was over, new and important duties devolved upon the Government. The army had to be paid and pensions provided; protection and education given to the enfranchised slaves; the rights of citizens in all the rebel states secured, and the Federal guarantee of a republican form of government carried into execution. Immediately upon the meeting of Congress it devoted itself assiduously to this work—loans were issued, money raised, the army paid off as it was disbanded, while the widows and disabled soldiers were liberally pensioned. The Freedman's Bureau was organized for the protection of liberated slaves, the Civil Rights bill was passed to protect loyal citizens in all the states, and measures adopted to give peace and tranquility and republican government in all these states whose government had been cast off by the rebellion. Some of those measures have been carried out, others for reasons needless to discuss now, still remain an unexecuted dead letter, and they will so remain until Gen. Grant shall be elected President of the United States.

Grant then stands this day before us the foremost military commander in the world with peace for his watchword. Why should he not be elected? What reason has any lover of country for not voting for him, By his side stands Schuyler Colfax, who by his own energy, good character and industry, advanced from the printing office to the Speaker's chair, and for three successive terms has filled that high office with honor and distinction. Honest and upright men have been nominated for your Representatives in Congress, pledged to stand by Grant and the country; why then, I ask should not he and they receive your support? Educated at West Point, he served with distinction through the Mexican war, and when it was ended, unwilling to be a drone, resigned his commission, and engaged in the pursuits of civil life. Leaving his peaceful pursuits at the commencement of the Rebellion, he joined the army, and soon advanced to the rank of Major General commanding the army. After varied and important services, he moved upon the enemy's works at Donelson and compelled their commander, Buckner to surrender with 18,000 prisoners of war. Soon after he grappled with Beauregard on the field of Shiloh, and drove him and his routed army from the field. He proceeded to open the navigation of the Mississippi River and ran its batteries, fought and defeated General Johnston, chased the rebel General Pemberton into Vicksburg and forced him to surrender

with 30,000 prisoners of war. Advanced to command all the armies of the West he fought and defeated Bragg at Chattanooga, shattered his army and delivered that vast territory from the hands of the rebels. Advanced still higher as Lieutenant General he changed his headquarters to the Potomac, forty days' marching and fighting through the Wilderness, drove Lee and his army into Richmond. Compelled to evacuate Lee was chased to Appomattox Court House, and forced to surrender himself and men as prisoners of war, which practically brought the rebellion to an end.

And now I ask what reason has any man to vote against General Grant? His capacity and integrity for civil administration were equally manifest in the vast territory in which he operated. If any man among you would hide from the boy the musket and knapsack that his father carried at Donelson, at Vicksburg, upon Lookout Mountain, throughout the Wilderness, before Richmond, at Five Forks, at Appomattox Court House, and shouldering proudly marches with 200,000 of his fellow soldiers through the streets of Washington and around the capitol and executive mansion that he defended with his life for years in the long march, the wearisome siege, and the storm of battle, let such a man vote against General Grant. If there is any man among you that would blot from the page of our history the story of these great achievements let him draw black lines around them and write across their faces, "Have no share in these great deeds for I vote against Grant." Is there any man among you that would compel the armies of the Potomac, of the James, of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, of the Tennessee and of the Gulf to be again gathered at the tap of the drum and surrendered as prisoners of war to Lee and Johnston, Beauregard and Forrest and Preston, let him vote against General Grant. If there is any man among you who has forgotten that bright summer Sabbath day the little Monitor as she steamed out against the new sea monster, the Merrimac, and before noon drove her, shattered and crippled to port; if there is any man who would have rejoiced to behold a cannon ball shatter Farragut, as, lashed to the mast, he drove through the rebel fleet and dashed them in pieces, let that man vote against Grant. If any man would have Worden and Farragut and Winslow and all our great Admirals haul down the Star Spangled Banner, never again to brave the battle and the breeze, if he would see them slink in shame from their own quarter decks and give up their ships to Maury and Buchanan, and Semmes and Moffatt, while the

Confederate bars, emblems of slavery, flaunt on every sea, in every state, let him vote against General Grant. Vote early and vote often, for if Grant be elected this globe shall disappear from the firmament before the banner of the United States shall suffer tarnish or shame on the land or on the deep. If there is any man among you who would reverse the order of history, who would bring upon you a shame and reproach never before known among the nations of the earth, who would have the commander of the United States armies deliver up his sword, and humbly bow before the rebel commander, let that man vote against Grant, but never again call himself an American citizen. If there is any man whose eyeballs would not burn to behold Lee upon the portico of the capitol, with Beauregard, Preston and Forrest at his side, with a Confederate army around him, and as the Government is transferred to them listen to the rebel yell as it sounds on the field of battle and in the New York Convention, let such a man vote against Grant and go to Washington on the 4th of March. Why then, I repeat, should any lover of his country vote against Grant and Colfax and the Republican members of Congress?

A convention has been held in New York and put in nomination opposition candidates, Horatio Seymour and Frank P. Blair. Seymour professes that he is an unwilling candidate caught up by a whirlwind. Blair was put in nomination by Preston, of Kentucky, who fought five years against his country, and the nomination was seconded by Forrest, of Fort Pillow. The watchword of Grant, as I have said, is peace.

Now, what is the watchword of the New York Convention? A few days before the meeting of that Convention Frank P. Blair, in a manifesto to his friend, Broadhead, declared the platform on which he was willing to stand. The substance is: First, that the President shall declare all the Reconstruction laws of Congress null and void, second that he shall compel the army to undo all that has been done; third, that the white population of the rebel states shall be suffered to organize their own governments; fourth, that the talk about greenbacks and bonds, and gold and the public credit and the public debt is idle talk; fifth, that the President must trample in the dust the reconstruction laws passed by Congress. If the reconstruction acts of Congress may be declared by the President null and void he becomes a dictator with the law-making power in his hands alone. If he may

compel the military power to undo what has been done under and by virtue of acts of Congress, he becomes a military dictator, and all form and semblance of republican government is lost. If the white population of the rebel states are to reorganize their own governments without reference to the reconstruction acts of Congress then it is plain to be seen that the first act will be the restoration of slavery, the restoration of the rebel power, of the engine with which it carried on war, the perpetual power and domination of the aristocracy of the slaveholding states, the slave oligarchy forever in the South.

But there is also a financial scheme of the New York Convention. Blair says that it is idle to talk about bonds, greenbacks and gold, the public credit or the public debt. If then such talk be idle why is it that the financiers of the New York Convention from Maine to the Mississippi are talking of gold and greenbacks and bonds, and nothing else? The reason is plain. Mindful of the uncertainty of war and that the public credit and public faith was a cornerstone that upheld the country against rebellion, it is deemed proper to destroy the public debt by repudiation, to smooth the way for the restoration of the Lost Cause. This talk of bonds and greenbacks is then only a provisional step to smooth the path for the restoration of the slaveholders. What is this financial scheme! It is neither more nor less than repudiation. The doctrine of repudiation was first broached by Jefferson Davis thirty years ago in Mississippi. While it advanced him to political power it remains a stigma to the state. To avoid that stigma it is insisted that the scheme of the New York Convention is not repudiation but something else. They say that the public bonds on their face are payable in lawful money, that greenbacks are lawful money, and therefore the bonds are payable in greenbacks. But if greenbacks be lawful money under the act of Congress, gold is also lawful money, so that the argument with equal force proves the bonds payable in gold. But suppose it were not so. The bonds were sold by the Government, in the market, to raise money to carry on the war for its existence. No one can doubt who is familiar with legal principles, that where a party sends into the market a general agent to raise money, with an alternative mode of payment, the parties may contract which mode of payment shall be made; and if the agent of the Government having that power contracts for one mode of payment, viz, gold, that contract is binding upon the State. Any other principle would be destructive to public faith, public credit

and public loans. But it is said that the Secretary of the Treasury, who represented that the bonds were payable in gold, exceeded his powers, and therefore the Government is not bound. That I deny. What Court, what tribunal has ever decided where a loan was made stipulating an alternative payment, and the agent of the power who borrowed the money represented that a particular payment should be made, the principal may afterward repudiate the debt? Such representation is as binding on the principal as if there was but one mode of payment stipulated in the bond. But again it is said that these bonds were sold at a discount, and the public creditor should receive what was paid to the Government. Such a pretense would be ruinous on individuals and ruinous to the state. When a man goes into the market or sends his agent there for the purpose of borrowing money with an unlimited rate of discount, whatever the discount may be, it is binding upon the principal who receives the money, and whether it be an individual or a nation that refuses to make the payments it is repudiation and nothing else. It is said further that the interest upon these bonds is burdensome, and the taxes to meet the interest are heavy. The payment of principal and interest of any debt is hard after the money has been expended, but that furnishes no honest person with an excuse for refusing payment, and a Government which would undertake to deal with the creditors in that manner and for that reason would be a hissing, a scorn and a byword among the nations of the earth. But this song of hard taxes is familiar to the public ear. It has been sung to a harp of a thousand strings. And at every stage of the war—before the war actually broke out but was imminent—we were told, “Do not resist secession. Let the Union be dissolved, for if you resist life may be lost and blood shed.” Who does not remember that cry ringing through the land? It burst into a howl at Bull Run. We were then told, “a heavy debt is already incurred and much life lost. Stop the war at once.” It reached its loudest note before Atlanta when the war was declared a failure, and a cessation of hostilities was demanded. It croaked through the Wilderness at the heels of Grant at every step. We were told that the expenses of the Government already exceeded a million a day, and that countless thousands had perished. But it sunk to a whimper when Sherman presented 25,000 bales of conquered cotton to Lincoln as a Christmas present. It was choked into death’s silence at Appomattox Court House. But it is now revived, chanted and intoned

by the financiers of the New York Convention on every stump from Maine to the rebel lines but not beyond them. Among the rebels there is no talk of bonds or greenbacks or gold or public debt, for, trusting to a lost cause restored, they do not mean to pay the debt, no principal of the bonds or interest. They are silent as the grave. Forrest's trust is in the rebel howl, and it is left to the financiers of the New York Convention to quibble and carp at the public faith in the public credit, in order to smooth the path for the new rebellion. When you hear beyond the rebel lines talk about our National debt and taxation you may suppose they have some earnestness on the subject. But no voice has been heard; no tongue has uttered a word about the public credit, but of rebel debt. They do not mean to pay a cent of national taxes or a dollar of interest. They mean to leave to their Northern friends the burden and shame of repudiating their own debt, and destroying their own credit. The rebel debt with its countless millions is enough for them to look after. This is why the financiers of the New York Convention have now again tuned their harp of a thousand strings, and are chanting through the land about gold and greenbacks, and public credit and the public debt, while Blair sneers at them with scorn. He knows what Lee and Forrest, and Preston and Beauregard mean, and the whole of the rebel host. He says it is all idle talk.

But what is this public debt manifested by the bonds and the notes of the United States and about which the bowels of the financiers of the New York Convention are so painfully moved?

The war debt is variously estimated at from two to three thousand millions of dollars. It was a debt created to support a million soldiers, the largest army that ever marched with our banner, and the most formidable fleet that ever floated upon the waves of the ocean. It represents a thousand brilliant achievements on land and sea that will be renowned upon the pages of history to the end of all time. The principal items of this debt can be ascertained with absolute certainty, and others approximately estimated. And I ask you to say which of them you will lop off. It is not a question that concerns Beauregard or Forrest or any one south of the rebel lines, because they do not mean to pay any debt—but how much of this debt will you repudiate, standing as it does, the representative of the great achievements of our army and navy? Behold the items. The report of the Paymaster General, shows that the largest part of this expenditure, namely, \$1,029,000,000

was for the pay of the army; \$250,000,000 more would cover the whole final pay of the army, and the pensions of the widows and orphans and disabled soldiers. The Quartermaster's, the next largest expenditures, are thus specified: For supplies of clothing, tents, camp equipage and other necessities, \$200,000,000 will be a reasonable estimate; for horses, forage, cavalry, mules and wagons for transportation, \$300,000,000; for steam rams, ships and railroads, the building of steamers, bridges, engines, cars, \$400,000,000; for the subsistence of the army and its medical supplies \$300,000,000 will be a liberal estimate; for fortifications, ordnance, arms and ammunition \$200,000,000 would not be unreasonable. The whole expense of the navy for the first year of the war was \$280,000,000 and cannot now exceed \$300,000,000. These are the leading items of the war debt. We had to raise an army to maintain our national existence, and where is the man to rob the soldier of his pay? Let him vote against General Grant. Where is the man that would plunder the widow, the orphan, the bereaved parents sitting helpless by the fireside? If you have an army it must have tents and clothes, for where is the man that would have the soldiers sleep on the bare ground or go marching naked through the rebel states? You must also have horses and forage. You must have means of transportation on land and upon your rivers, lakes and seas. Where is the lover of his country that would have had the armies performing painful marches of months that could have been performed in a few hours upon boats or railroads? Where is the lover of his country that would have had Grant or Sherman, or any of our great commanders, lose an opportunity to strike the enemy for want of transportation, or of cavalry for forage for his horses, or any other supply? Where is the man that would deprive the army of its bread and of its meat, snatch the cup from the sick soldier, deprive him of his nurse and hospital shelter, or medical care and attendance? And when France and England threatened us with a war of intervention in aid of the rebellion, what answer would have been given to the people of the United States for the burning of our towns and cities and the ravaging of our coast, if such could have been prevented by means of money furnished by the people; for during the contraction of this debt, the people crowded to Mr. Lincoln from day to day, and demanded that he should put forth the Nation's strength, and pledged themselves to meet every call for men and money. And who is there that would strike out for one second the glory of Farragut, of Winslow,

and of Worden, and all our other great sea captains, on account of the whole naval expenditure? Think of it for a moment. You all remember that bright Sunday morning, when the Nation quaked at the news as it flashed through the land, that a new monster of the deep had appeared the day before, had sunk two of our ships and was about to ravage our coast, and when, four hours later, the word rang through the land that a little Monitor, which appeared no larger than a speck upon the sea, had fought her three hours, and had driven her crippled and shattered to her port—where is the man who, for the whole national debt created by our whole naval expenditure, would have lost for a minute, his share in the glory of the achievement? And when, on another Sunday, the world beheld that great duel on the deep in the face of Europe, when Winslow, of the Kearsage sent by a single shot the rebel pirate to the bottom of the sea, who would sell out his interest in the glory of that achievement? And yet these are things on which the financiers of the New York Convention are busy with pencil and slate in their hands, to cipher away. But they have quite other things in their minds when they profess to be figuring and reckoning discounts and interests. Their hearts are mindful of something else. They are thinking of Meade and Gettysburg, and its glorious fields; of the rebel ranks mowed by our artillery like grass before the scythe in that two days battle. They are thinking of Sherman hewing his way from the mountains to the sea. They are thinking of George Thomas dashing their army to pieces at Nashville. They are thinking of the bloody fight of Schofield at Franklin, when the cannon balls crashed through the bones of the rebel soldiers and their officers like hail through glass as thick as Lannes heard at Montebello. They are thinking of Butler's triumphant entry into New Orleans and patriotic administration. They are thinking of the humbling of the knee of the rebellion before the stars and stripes. They are thinking of Canby and the capture of Mobile. But above all they are thinking of that day when Lee surrendered his sword and his army to Grant and when the voice of a great nation was lifted up in thanksgiving and praise to the Lord of Hosts. Against these things the financiers of the New York convention may cipher in vain until the very figures shall burn and blister their eyeballs. You, fellow citizens will be mindful of these things. You will lay them to your hearts when you come to make your choice for President of the United States and for your Representatives in Congress. You will talk of them in your family, by your firesides, and you will press them upon your neighbors. You will toil with them until

the day of the polls, and the election of Grant and Colfax and a Republican Congress will be a crowning blessing to you and your posterity forevermore.

Brief addresses were made at Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and one or two other points, where they exerted a powerful influence. Mr. Stanton reached home in November, nearly exhausted, and, as we know, Grant was overwhelmingly elected.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENTERING THE VALLEY.

Straitened Circumstances and Declining Health—Baptism—
Nominated and Confirmed for Supreme Court Justice—
Visit to Grant—Relapse and Death—Last Sad Rites—Public
Testimonials.

It was on the occasion of his last trip to Steubenville that Stanton visited the Union Cemetery with John McCracken, and pointed out the spot which he desired to be his last resting place. This circumstance is confirmed by General Townsend, one of his executors, who said Stanton told him he wished to be buried in Steubenville, and that he had arranged in that city the spot where his body was to lie.

Towards the latter part of the winter of 1868-9 Mr. Stanton's health somewhat improved, but he wrote to his friend Watson, at Ashtabula, that he was straitened for money. Through a friend the latter sent him \$5,000, which was understood to be a loan, and so acknowledged, but the giver, Stillman Witt, of Cleveland, destroyed the acknowledgement, and never collected the bill. About this time he conducted an important land case at Wheeling, but was considerably worse after he arrived home.

Although, as previously indicated, Mr. Stanton was a man of strong devotional feeling and an attendant upon religious services, yet, probably inheriting the traditions of his Quaker ancestry he had never been baptized into any church. He now sent for Dr.

William Sparrow, of the Alexandria Theological Seminary, who had been one of the Gambier clergy when he was at college, for the purpose of receiving the sacrament of Holy Baptism, which was duly performed. He soon after began preparing for confirmation under the ministrations of Rev. Thomas A. Starkey, who had lately come to the Church of the Epiphany, at Washington, from Trinity Church, Cleveland, and was afterwards made Bishop of Newark, N. J., but death overtook Mr. Stanton before this rite was administered.

He improved considerably during the next few months, at least apparently, and spent the summer and autumn with friends in New England. He returned to Washington in the fall, but was evidently growing weaker. During this period he was offered a large retainer to take charge of a certain law case, but, although needing money badly, his conscience would not allow him to keep it, as he felt himself unable to properly earn it. He argued a case before Justice Swayne, of the Supreme Court, who came to his own house to hear it, on December 12, and a serious relapse followed the extra exertion. It could hardly be considered a credit to the Nation that this hero should thus be dying by inches, straitened in funds, and struggling with the assistance of a few generous friends to support his family out of the remnant of his once lucrative law practice which he had sacrificed to his country, but the explanation is that the public did not realize the situation, and certainly Stanton was the last man to allow a public appeal in his behalf.

When Chief Justice Taney died in 1864 there was

a strong effort made to have Stanton appointed to succeed him, but Mr. Lincoln promptly said to M. E. Bishop Simpson, who broached the subject to him: "If Mr. Stanton can find a man he himself will trust as Secretary of War, I'll do it." No one was found, and Stanton continued his grind in the War office, while the one position that he really cared; anything about was given to Chase, with his approval. Early in December, 1869, Justice Grier stated that he intended to resign, and told Stanton that he would like him to be his successor on the Supreme Bench. This intelligence was very grateful to Stanton as it assured him independence for the remainder of his days amid congenial surroundings. Grant had apparently agreed to the appointment, but as several days passed and no nomination was made some of Stanton's friends became anxious. Finally Senator Carpenter, of Wisconsin, started a petition, which was at once signed by 37 Senators and 118 members of the House, which he took to the President on the following (Saturday) morning. Grant at once responded:

I am delighted to have that letter; I have desired to appoint Mr. Stanton to that place, and yet in consequence of his having been Secretary of War and so prominent in the recent political strife, I have doubted whether it would answer to make him judge; that indorsement is all I want; you go to Mr. Stanton's house and tell him his name will be sent to the Senate Monday morning.

When Mr. Stanton heard of this proceeding he remarked: "The kindness of General Grant—it is perfectly characteristic of him—will do more to cure me than all the doctors."

In certain portions of Grant's memoirs, published after his death, there are some ungracious re-

marks concerning Stanton, which are not only contradictory of Grant's own declarations, but out of keeping with his character. It is not necessary to refer to them, further than to remark that nobody has attempted to controvert Mr. Flower's conclusive demonstration that Grant never penned those lines.

In conversation with the present writer Gen. F. D. Grant alluded to the high respect in which Stanton was held by the former's father, which was frequently expressed, and this is corroborated by the physician who attended the senior Grant during his last illness. If anything else were wanting to prove that the closing pages of Gen. Grant's autobiography were not published as penned by him, the difference of style would be conclusive, with such expressions as "War between the States," a declaration as false historically as it is unpatriotic in sentiment, as there never was such a thing in this country as a "war between the states." There was a war by the Government for the preservation of the Union, supported by the loyal people, which was not conducted by any combination of states but by the Nation.

According to promise, Stanton's nomination was sent to the Senate on Monday and promptly confirmed. President Grant was not certain whether he should issue the commission at once, as Justice Grier's resignation did not take effect until February 1 following. On that afternoon, December 20, Stanton, against the protests of his family and physician, muffled himself up and drove to the White House to thank the President in person for his favor. He created a sensation as he entered the President's room supported by Adjutant General Townsend, and delivered to Grant his written acknowledgement and

thanks for his appointment to the only public office he ever desired. Grant signed the commission on the 22nd, but Stanton never saw it. The death angel was already at work, and the exertion had been too great for the worn out body. On January 3 Grant sent the commission to Mrs. Stanton with a personal letter expressing his sympathy and "of the estimation I placed upon the ability, integrity, patriotism and services of him whom a Nation joins you in mourning the loss of."

It is a curious circumstance that as Senator Carpenter relates:

Mr. Stanton was nominated, confirmed, commissioned and ready to take his seat, then sickened, died and was buried, all before the first day of February. On that day good old Justice Grier returned, took his seat on the bench and helped to decide causes after his successor had been appointed, commissioned, and was dead and buried.

While Mr. Stanton was evidently worse after his visit to President Grant on the 20th, yet it was the belief of his attending physician that he would rally. Though physically weak, his mind was clear and his faculties alert. On the evening of the 23d he was apparently no worse. Dr. Barnes had left for the night, and the family had retired. Towards midnight David Jones, his nurse, noticed unusually heavy breathing. The family was aroused and Dr. Barnes hastily summoned, whose trained eye detected evidence that the end was not far off. Convulsions followed, but in the intervals the patient was conscious, and at first thought he would recover. He seems, however, to have soon been convinced of the contrary, and at his request Rev. Dr. Starkey was sent for, who at 2 o'clock in the morning read the commendatory

prayer for the dying. He did not speak after that, having fallen into a semi comatose condition, and at 4 A. M., amid the prayers and tears of the little circle gathered round him, his soul passed out into the great beyond.

Besides the household, including the family and nurses, Dr. Barnes and Rev. Dr. Starkey alone were present.

There was no public display or lying in state after death, but personal friends of the dead statesman were admitted to take a last look at the remains of him with whom they had been associated in one of the greatest works ever given to man to perform.

Upon the announcement of Mr. Stanton's death, President Grant issued an order that the Washington Departments be draped in mourning and that all business be suspended on the day of the funeral. The Justices of the Supreme Court and members of both houses of Congress assembled for the adoption of resolutions and to arrange for a public funeral. Senator Sherman was appointed to call on Mrs. Stanton with the view of removing the body to the Capitol, where it was proposed to hold the obsequies. Mrs. Stanton, while grateful for the mark of appreciation, felt that her health was not equal to the strain of a public funeral, and hence desired it to be conducted from her home on the 27th. The service, which was that which the Book of Common Prayer provides for king and peasant alike, was conducted by Rev. Dr. Starkey, of the Church of the Epiphany, Rev. Dr. Pinckney, of the Church of the Ascension, and Rev. Dr. Sparrow, of the Alexandria Seminary. The pall bearers were Secretary of War Belknap, Postmaster General Cresswell, U. S. Senators Carpenter, Sum-

ner, Chandler and Edmunds, Representatives Judd and Hooper, Justices Swayne and Carter, Generals Barnes and Townsend, Major Eckert, and Hon. E. Pierrepont. Major Eckert had brought Mrs. Stanton, the Secretary's mother, from her home in Steubenville. Notwithstanding its simplicity, the funeral was marked by a large attendance of public men beginning with the President and his Cabinet, diplomatic corps, delegations from various cities, etc. The floral offerings were the most imposing ever seen in Washington. The coffin was borne by a body of men from the Eighth Artillery. Thousands gathered in the vicinity and along the route of procession to Oak Hill cemetery, where the body was laid to rest, while the last prayers were said amid the slow falling December rain. A plain stone was erected to mark the spot where reposed all that was mortal of one of the Nation's greatest men:

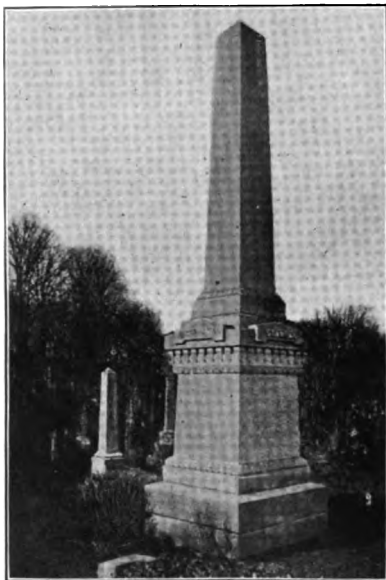
"Gone; but nothing can bereave him
Of the force he made his own
Being here, and we believe him
Something far advanced in state,
And that he wears a truer crown
Than any wreath that man can weave him."

Not only did Congress, but civic bodies all over the country testified by addresses and resolutions their appreciation of the services of him of whom it might have been said as Lord Brougham said of Pitt:

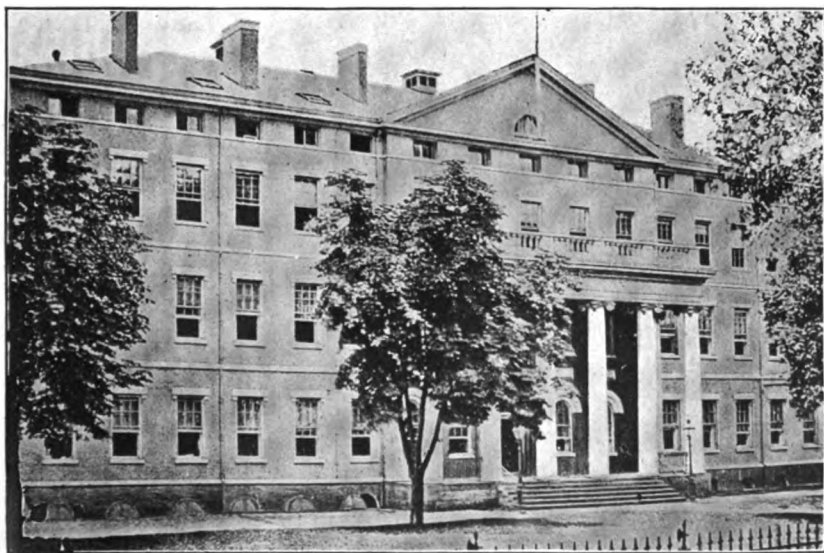
As soon as he took the helm the steadiness of the hand that held it was instantly felt in every motion of the vessel. There was no more of wavering, of torpid inaction, of witless expectancy, of abject despondency. His firmness gave confidence; his spirit roused courage, his vigilance secured exertion in every department under his sway.



STANTON'S WASHINGTON HOME.



STANTON'S GRAVE



**OLD WAR DEPARTMENT BUILDING.
STANTON'S ROOMS SECOND STORY LEFT.**

Learning of the straitened condition of Mr. Stanton's affairs some friends in New York, Pittsburgh and elsewhere raised a testimonial fund of \$100,000, which, with the sale of real estate, \$10,000 life insurance, and a year's salary of \$5,000 as Supreme Court Justice voted by Congress, placed his family in very comfortable circumstances. His two sons, Edwin and Lewis H., survived him. The former died at the age of 35 years and was buried at Steubenville on September 15, 1877, and the latter is now a prominent banker in New Orleans. Two daughters are also living, Mrs. Weston P. Chamberlain, of Coronado Beach, Cal., and Mrs. Bessie, wife of Rev. H. S. Habersham, Monroe, Mass. There are several grandchildren.

Mrs. Lucy Stanton, mother of the Secretary, died at the age of 80 years, and was buried in the Stanton lot, Union cemetery, Steubenville, on November 8, 1873.

PART II.

Posthumous Honors.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE STANTON MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

Beginning of the Project—Wells Historical Society and Steubenville Centennial—Stanton Day—School Children's Tablet—Association Organized—Portrait Dedication—A Generous Offer—Arrangements for the Statue.

While there have been numerous suggestions at different times that the great War Secretary should be commemorated by a suitable monument at his native city, the first movement which gave promise of practical results in that direction was the formation of the Bezaleel Wells Historical and Centennial Society, which was incorporated on March 7, 1893. Its object, among other things, was to collect and collate material pertaining to the history and development of the city of Steubenville and vicinity (including all of Jefferson County) and to raise funds to commemorate by publication and monuments, on August 25, 1897, the centennial anniversary of the first sale of lots made in the city of Steubenville. The Society organized by the election of the follow-

ing officers: President, Davison Filson; Vice President, Robert Sherrard, afterwards Rev. A. M. Reid; Recording Secretary, Joseph B. Doyle; Corresponding Secretary, W. H. Hunter; Treasurer, D. J. Sinclair; Trustees, Geo. W. McCook, Winfield Scott, Chas. Gallagher, A. C. Ault, E. M. Crawford. The Society went vigorously to work and collected much valuable data, among other things definitely fixing the location of Stanton's birthplace, which up to that time had been a matter of some controversy. The city's centennial celebration extended over three days, of which the first, or August 24, was devoted to the memory of Stanton. The sub-committee having this in charge was composed of H. G. Dohrman, Chairman; H. L. M. Dotey, Secretary; W. C. Bracken, J. B. Doyle, H. B. Grier, H. H. McFadden, R. J. Morrison, J. F. Oliver, Dr. A. M. Reid, T. M. Simpson. The bronze tablet described elsewhere and placed on the front of the building on upper Market street in front of the house where Stanton was born, had been purchased and paid for by the school children of Jefferson County, in which the children of the Irondale schools took the lead outside the city, they making the largest contribution in proportion to their numbers. A small balance left over from the purchase of this tablet furnished the nucleus of the fund by which the monument project was carried out, so to the school children of Jefferson county belongs the credit of taking the first substantial step in this direction.

The formal proceedings of the day began at the City Opera House at 10 A. M. with a short concert by

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Patton's band, when the meeting was called to order by Capt. J. F. Oliver, and prayer was offered by Rev. E. W. Cowling. Prof. D. W. Matlack made a short address directed to the greater Jefferson county, which, when first organized, extended west to the Muskingum river and north to Lake Erie. Prof. W. H. Venable, of Cincinnati, followed with an able exposition of Ohio ideals, and an eloquent review of the characters of Ohio statesmen. He forcibly pointed out the fact that Stanton, of Steubenville, represents the superior class of American publicists and politicians—the able, the aggressive, the conscientious, the incorruptible. The boy who aspires to something, to hold a place among the Nation's councillors, or to sit on the high bench of Justice, may well take such men as models.

Visitors had been arriving by every train during the preceding twenty-four hours, and when the procession was ready to march in the afternoon the streets were packed with thousands of people, while the buildings and arches spanning the highways were a mass of banners and patriotic decorations. The schools were a leading feature of the parade, and children from the entire county assembled at the Court House and different school buildings at 1 P. M. and marched to the places assigned to them. Each scholar carried a small flag. The order of procession was as follows:

Chief Marshal—J. L. Selah.

Adjutant General—D. W. Matlack.

Chief of Staff—W. M. Taylor.

First Division—Marshal, W. F. Ridgeley.

Patton's Band.

Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, Gen. Anson G. McCook, Rev.
Henry McCook, Mrs. Pamphila Wolcott, sister
of Mr. Stanton, Hon. R. W. Tayler and
others in carriages.

17th U. S. Infantry Band.

Cos. K and E, O. N. G.

Carriages.

Second Division—Marshal, Dr. R. Laughlin.

Bueche's Band.

School Children.

Judges, Attorneys and County Officials.

Visiting Officials in Original Limits of County.

Board of Education.

City Clergy.

Wells Historical Society.

Centennial Committee.

Jefferson County Medical Society.

Stanton Drum Corps.

E. M. Stanton Post G. A. R.

Citizens on Foot and in Carriages.

City Officials.

Ambulance.

At 2 o'clock the parade started from the Court House up Market to Fourth, then to Clinton, to Third, down Third past Stanton's three homes and his law office to Market street, and up Market street to Stanton's birthplace, where an immense crowd had gathered. Captain John F. Oliver, from a rostrum in front of the Imperial Hotel, called the great crowd to order and introduced Rev. L. H. Stewart, who made an invocation, and

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presented Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, of Gettysburg fame, who came forward on his crutches and his single leg, and met with a most enthusiastic welcome. His address was largely reminiscent of Stanton and his great work in the War Department. At its close he pulled the cord which held the National colors concealing the bronze tablet erected by the school children, and as the plate appeared to view the air was rent by cheer after cheer.

Hon. R. W. Taylor followed with a searching analysis of Stanton's character, in which he said:

A solitary figure on a lonely eminence. It is thus that Stanton's career impresses me. Strong, self-centred and, indeed, self-sufficient, he was so absorbed in the work he had to do, that he had little thought for the amenities of either private or public life. Perhaps it was this that made him so effective. To him every minute had its work, and that work was done. He brooked no man's interference. I do not think he was a man of especially high ideals, but his was such a nature that he lived constantly in an atmosphere of accomplishment. The necessary food of his moral nature was effective acts. He never could do a purposeless thing. He was ever driving directly at some well distinguished object, and it sometimes seemed that neither force nor persuasion, nor sentiment, nor mercy, must stand in the way. It is a most interesting character which he represents. His analyst has not yet appeared; nor even one who has graphically described him. One man thoroughly understood and valued him, and that man was Lincoln. To have the certificate of such a man is to be decorated with the highest honor. The best thing to be said for Stanton, perhaps the best thing that could be said for any man from a human standpoint, is that Lincoln knew him and trusted and leaned upon him almost without reserve. We are familiar with the qualifications which environed Lincoln's judgment of Seward and Chase, the two other great figures in his Cabinet. No such qualification appears in his judgment of Stanton. While his irascible temper and unquieting directness were at times as annoying to the President as to those whom he most directly offended, yet in no substantial degree did they affect the soundness of Lincoln's regard for his great War Secretary.

Who can tell how far his administration of his mighty responsibilities affected the outcome of the struggle? Who can say how long the actual result might have been delayed if the strong arm, the mighty soul and the discerning intellect of Stanton had not intervened? Certain it is that a weak man would have demoralized the whole army, and demoralization not quickly checked would have meant disintegration. His true place in history has not yet been impartially declared, but if it shall be said of him by the next generation that in the essential importance of his work he ranks after Lincoln and Grant as the most cogent factor in the war period, few will there be to dispute it.

It is not improper on such an occasion in celebrating this purely Ohio event, to point out the conspicuous and over-towering influence of Ohio in the War of the Rebellion. Lincoln, it is true, was born in Kentucky, and spent his manhood years in Illinois. Powers over which man has no control raised him up for the great work of saving the Union. But upon whom did Lincoln lean? On Chase and Stanton in the Cabinet, and on Grant, Sherman and Sheridan in the field—all of them either born in Ohio, or developed beneath an Ohio sky. And we have the high authority of Grant himself that McPherson, a son of Ohio, killed on the field of battle, was of the same stamp and of equal merit with Sherman. These are but the most conspicuous examples of what Ohio furnished the Nation in the hour of her peril. Jefferson county, perhaps more than any other, contributed to the military splendor of our state, but other and more fitting tongues will speak of them.

Rightly does Jefferson county erect this memorial to her great son; and proud should every child be that participates in this celebration. Stanton's career presents to them the example—the shining example—of the power of directed industry. Whatever may have been his natural strength of intellect, he best exemplified the truth that the genius for hard work is the best genius of all.

After the lesson of patriotism which we all learn anew to-day, we are taught by Stanton's example that success comes only by the earnest and intelligent pursuit of a proper end. Amid the many lessons of this period forget not that. We celebrate and rejoice in the fact that this great man was not only a son of Ohio, but that he was born on the soil of Jefferson county. Here he remained until his years of mature manhood, until he had taken his measure of strength and greatness, and went to a wider field of opportunity and accom-

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plishment. Here, looking upon these flowing waters and these green hills, his character was formed and his destiny shaped. He was, while here, the man he afterwards showed himself to be. He was already strong, he merely became stronger by the momentum of which his early career was the promise and the impetus. Here, we may truly say, he not only laid the foundation, but nearly completed the superstructure of the splendid edifice which proved so great a tower of strength during the trying days of a stupendous war. Here was he prepared for the hour of his and his country's supreme trial. True it is that God who gave us Lincoln gave us also Stanton. Who shall say that each was not essential to the Divine Purpose? As God was with the Fathers, so may he be also with the sons.

The proceedings closed with singing "America" and benediction by Rev. Dr. Reid.

That same evening a public memorial meeting of the Jefferson County Bar Association was held at the opera house, presided over by Dio Rogers, Esq. A number of distinguished visitors occupied seats on the platform, and the oration of the evening was delivered by Hon. J. H. S. Trainer, Stanton's only living contemporary at this bar, since deceased. He gave a brief sketch of Mr. Stanton's legal career, ending:

His name will forever stand on the records of the courts of his country as one of the brightest and ablest of jurists; and the records of our loved country, as the greatest of war secretaries, who, in the cabinet of the lamented President Lincoln, aided and assisted in crushing out the rebellion and restoring the Union of the states to peace and harmony united under one flag. The name of Edwin M. Stanton as a jurist and statesman is:

"One of the few immortal names
That was not born to die."

While Steubenville was thus observing Stanton day, the Steubenville colony in Washington met with Joseph A. Sterling presiding, adopted appro-

priate resolutions, and tastefully decorated Stanton's grave in Oak Hill cemetery.

The proceedings related on the preceding pages emphasized the fact that while monuments had been erected all over the country to individuals who had taken part more or less prominently on both sides in the Civil War, yet the one man of all others who most merited such recognition was without it. Fortunately, some time previously, Alexander Doyle, of New York, the well known sculptor, also a native of Steubenville, had informally to several friends expressed a willingness to contribute his services towards the erection of a statue to Stanton in his native town, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, would be a most liberal contribution towards the same. Preliminary steps were taken previous to the Stanton day celebration, and on August 11, 1897, papers of incorporation were issued to J. H. S. Trainer, H. B. Grier, J. L. Selah, H. H. McFadden, J. F. Oliver, T. M. Simpson, D. W. Matlack, J. B. Doyle, H. G. Dohrman and D. J. Sinclair. A preliminary organization was formed with H. G. Dohrman, President, and J. B. Doyle, Secretary, and further proceedings were deferred until October, when a constitution and by-laws were adopted and the machinery set in motion. Among those who took an early interest in the project was Samuel McDonald, formerly of Steubenville, then of the War Department at Washington, who not only made a liberal personal contribution but influenced the Bostonian opera company, of which his brother William H. MacDonald, was the head, to come to Steubenville and give a concert for the benefit of the fund, by which a neat sum was realized. Other con-

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tributions were promised, among them a liberal one from E. M. Stanton Post G. A. R., of Steubenville, and matters ran along until April, 1898, when, from causes never fully explained, interest in the matter seemed to become dormant, and the Association did not have another meeting for eight years.

Early in 1906, Eliphalet Andrews, another artist native of Steubenville, addressed a communication to the Bar Association of Jefferson county proposing to present to the Association a life size oil portrait of Mr. Stanton, the same to be placed in the Court Room. The gift was promptly accepted and the dedicatory exercises were held on April 14, the anniversary of the fall and rehabilitation of Fort Sumter. The painting is 3 1-2x5 feet in size, and represents Stanton during his early law practice. His ruddy countenance, flowing beard and general poise are reproduced in the most natural manner. He is represented as standing beside the trial table, his left hand resting against his side, while the tips of the four fingers and thumb touch the table. Near the corner of the table is a law book, which might be a volume of Chase's statutes, and partly under it is a manuscript containing some legal memoranda. Stanton stands facing over the table, and may be addressing the jury or the court, more likely the latter. He wears the tight fitting frock coat of the time, terminating midway between the hips and the knees. The portrait is framed in pure burnt gold, and occupies the most prominent position in the room, directly behind the judge's bench.

The dedicatory exercises were held in the afternoon in the presence of an audience that filled the

Court Room. Captain John F. Oliver presided and made the opening address, followed by prayer by Rev. A. M. Reid. Hon. John M. Cook made the presentation address on behalf of Mr. Andrews, in which with a review of Stanton's life, he made a very graceful reference to the artist, also declaring that the time had come when there should be a monument to Stanton in his native city. At the close the picture was unveiled while the band played "Star Spangled Banner." Hon. John A. Mansfield on behalf of the Bar Association accepted the portrait in an eloquent speech, in which the association's interest in the picture was transferred to the county. Response on behalf of the County Commissioners was made by Hon. Ron. R. G. Richards in his usual fluent style. The orchestra rendered "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and Rev. L. C. Denise, of New Kensington, Pa., read Longfellow's "Psalm of Life," which was a favorite of Stanton. The afternoon exercises concluded with an address by Hon. A. S. Worthington, then District Attorney of Washington, D. C., a Steubenville boy who was associated with Stanton in the War office and afterwards in law partnership with his son Edwin.

A still larger audience assembled at the Court Room for the evening exercises at which Vice President George W. McCook presided, and read a number of letters from prominent men, beginning with President Roosevelt, regretting their inability to be present, and each one testifying to some distinguishing traits of Stanton's character. E. R. VanCleve read a poem by W. J. Lampton entitled Stanton. Col. John J. McCook, of New York, made an im-

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promptu speech in which he discussed the monument proposition previously referred to by Judge Cook. He said he had recently been assured by the Secretary of War that Congress would soon appropriate enough of captured guns and funds to lay the foundation for a magnificent monument of Stanton to be placed in front of the War Department on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington. "But," he added, "Don't let us wait for that. Let us get one up out here on the corner in the place of his nativity. Let us accept that offer of another of Steubenville's distinguished sons, Alexander Doyle, the sculptor. I don't see why we have not done it long ago. If it had been left to the women I'm sure it would have been done. They have a way of carrying such things through. Let us get down to work and erect the first monument to Stanton right here in Steubenville."

Erasmus Wilson, of Pittsburgh, made a short telling address showing how Stanton had saved the Union a second time under Andrew Johnson, and the proceedings closed with an address by W. H. Hunter.

The success of these dedicatory exercises was largely due to the activity and energy of Probate Judge Frank H. Kerr, who did not suffer the work to lag at this point, but taking advantage of the renewed interest in the monument project, urged that the Trustees of the Stanton Monument Association again take up the matter and push it through to completion. Accordingly on April 26, the Trustees reassembled, filled necessary vacancies, appointed committees and prepared to go ahead. The question of immediate importance was whether Mr. Doyle was still willing to make good his previous offer of services in creating

the statue, and this was shortly settled by correspondence to the great satisfaction of the Association.

In the course of the following year liberal donations were made to the fund by Andrew Carnegie, Major Thomas T. Eckert and others, and early in 1908 an entertainment was given under the auspices of the order of Elks and Ladies' Auxiliary which netted \$281, and on April 8, 1908, the Legislature of the State passed an act authorizing the Commissioners of Jefferson county to appropriate \$5,000 towards the erection of the monument as an aid to the beautification and improvement of the Court House grounds, thus placing the matter on a sound financial basis.

Death and other causes had made several changes necessary among the officers and other Trustees, so that much of the final work was in charge of the following:

President, George W. McCook, Steubenville; Vice Presidents, Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, N. Y.; A. S. Worthington, Washington, D. C.; Col. John J. McCook, N. Y.; Hon. Frank H. Kerr and Hon. John M. Cook, Steubenville; Secretary, Joseph B. Doyle, Treasurer, Robert McGowan; Trustees, Hon. Wm. MacD. Miller, Josiah C. Ault, Capt. J. F. Oliver, W. F. Ridgley, H. G. Dohrman, J. W. Gill, Chas. P. Filsen, Steubenville; Geo. D. Cook, N. Y.; Robert M. Francy, Toronto.

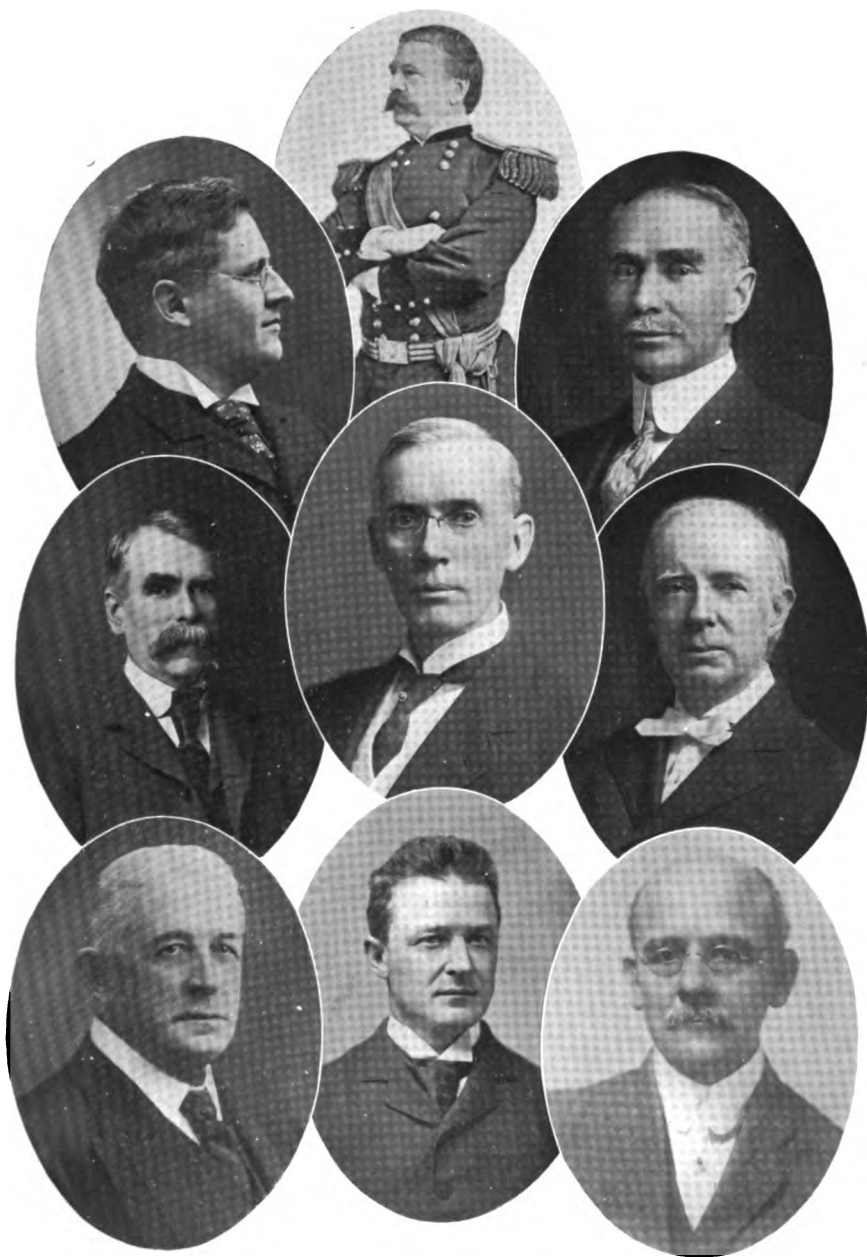
On Saturday, November 6, 1907, the sculptor, at the request of the Association, visited Steubenville for the purpose of definitely locating the site of the statue. The southeast corner of the Court House

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square was first suggested, but after a careful consideration of the whole matter both from an artistic and sentimental point of view it was decided to place the monument directly in front of the main or Market street entrance to the Court House, not nearer to the same than the front of the existing top step or platform. This was following the Greek idea of always locating statues with buildings for a background, never placing them against the sky line. A subsequent letter from the sculptor summarized some of the reasons for preferring this location as follows:

First and foremost is the one, the why and wherefore of which an artist can explain with difficulty, that I can see and feel a successfully designed monument in the one place, and I cannot see one in the other as yet, and doubt if I ever can. There are two things that influence this view—one is the restricted area of the location on the corner, and the other is the restricted amount of money to provide a monument to put there. The ground is sloping for another thing—always a difficult problem where the base of the monument must necessarily be of some width, and to accomplish the object some of the committee had in mind (that it could be seen if placed there from a distance along either Market or Third streets) it must necessarily be placed about on the corner of the present grass plot—thus detaching it too far from its background. Much reflection has failed to bring to me the inspiration for a design for that position. On the other hand, all the ideas that have suggested themselves to me are connected with a statue in front of the Court House doorway and with that doorway for a background. I do not suppose anyone will question the appropriateness of that location from the sentimental standpoint. Located there, the pedestal on which to place it suggests itself readily to my mind. It will be subordinate to the statue itself, as it properly should be, and will necessarily have to be of very moderate dimensions—which means a minimum of cost. It will, perhaps, make my task more difficult in the statue itself, for that will have to stand alone on its merits, unaided by any ornateness of pedestal.

This location has a special significance. In fact that significance is such that you could not afford to offer it to the



OFFICERS STANTON MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

William McD. Miller
Robert McGowan
Col. John J. McCook

Gen. Daniel E. Sickles
Hon. Frank H. Kerr
George W. McCook

James W. Gill
Joseph B. Doyle
Augustus S. Worthington

statue of any man but Edwin M. Stanton, because it is the one and only location of its kind that you can offer that has no competitor. Street corners are many—but there is but one Court House Entrance, and the location itself says to the world: "We consider this man our greatest citizen, otherwise his statue could not be allowed to preempt this unique location to the exclusion of others greater than he." I think all these considerations combined too weighty to be overlooked. Hence that is the location I should choose.

The proposed site having been formally approved by the Trustees a committee was appointed to call on the County Commissioners to procure their consent to the same, which was done.

The preliminary model of the monument was completed about March 1, 1909, and, in response to a request from the sculptor, several Ohio people residing in New York called and inspected the same. It was at first supposed that the formal model would be finished that fall, but the sculptor desiring to put further labor on the work the whole matter was laid over for another year. In the meantime the project had grown from a modest bust valued at a few hundred dollars to a heroic statue worth more than that many thousands. It was not until the latter part of 1910 that the sculptor began to see the beginning of the end of his work on which he had labored so faithfully for several years. Early in February, 1911, a committee from the Association visited New York, and inspected the model in the artist's studio. It was then practically completed, and the universal verdict was that it was entirely satisfactory, excellent in portraiture and imposing in appearance.

During the year 1910, the Association suffered the loss of three of its members, Hon. John M. Cook by death on July 10, H. G. Dohrman by removal, and

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George W. McCook by death on October 24. The last had been President of the Association since its organization, and it was largely due to his labors and influence that the project was now so near a successful realization. Mindful of these facts the Association at its annual meeting on December 19, on motion of Mr. McGowan adopted the following:

Whereas, George W. McCook, who was the President of our Association and served most faithfully, departed this life the 24th day of October, 1910,

Resolved, That in his death this Association has lost its most devoted member and one who took the greatest interest in pushing forward the work in which we are engaged, and this community has lost one of its best and noblest citizens.

Resolved, That we extend to his family our deep regret and sympathy in their greater loss, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to them and spread upon the minutes of this Association, and printed in the Association souvenir volume.

At this meeting Hon. Frank H. Kerr was elected President; the other members of the board being as follows: Vice Presidents: James W. Gill, William MacD. Miller, Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, Augustus S. Worthington, Col. John J. McCook; Secretary, Joseph B. Doyle; Treasurer, Robert McGowan; Trustees, Josiah C. Ault, John F. Oliver, Dohrman J. Sinclair, Charles P. Filson, Robert M. Francy, W. F. Ridgley, Clarence J. Davis, Gill McCook, George D. Cook.

It being now apparent that the monument would be ready for unveiling by the Summer or Autumn of 1911, at a meeting of the Trustees held on January

24th of that year it was resolved that the week beginning on Sunday, September 3rd be tentatively fixed for the dedicatory ceremonies and a general home coming week. This was afterwards affirmed with a general outline of Sunday for religious services, Monday as Labor Day, Tuesday for educational, fraternal organizations, etc., Wednesday, veterans and military generally; Thursday, unveiling of statue and closing exercises. At night it was proposed to have entertainments, public meetings with addresses, unveiling of portraits of Hon. Benjamin Tappan, Hon. John C. Wright and Hon. John M. Cook, in Court Room No. 1, Campfires, fireworks, etc.

The President and Secretary were appointed a special committee to visit New York, Washington, Chicago and Columbus for the purpose of extending invitations to distinguished guests to attend the dedicatory and other exercises, and to secure if possible the attendance of state militia and United States regular troops. The results of their visits will be found in the following pages.

In response to an invitation from the Trustees the sculptor again visited Steubenville on Friday, April 7, when the exact site of the monument was definitely fixed and the matter a few days later placed in the hands of the County Commissioners to make such alterations about the entrance as might be necessary. Plans and specifications prepared by E. T. Jenney and County Surveyor J. L. Cox provided for new steps of Berea Sand Stone and a plaza of concrete extending to the Market street sidewalk with a drop of two additional steps. A concrete foundation was placed at the front entrance of the Court

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House, on which a magnificent flight of steps of Berea sandstone was erected. The steps, six in number, have seven inches rise and 18 inches tread, the top step expanding into a stone platform fifteen feet eight inches by nine feet, affording a spacious entrance to the building. Immediately back of the lowest step, its top on a level with the platform, is the base of the statue, a single sand stone block three feet 8 inches high by five feet eight inches front and six feet deep. On this rests the pedestal of red Westerly granite, unpolished but brought to a comparatively smooth surface or what is technically known as "twelve cut." The pedestal is divided into three parts, first the base or foot, five feet square and eighteen inches high with suitable molding at the top. Then the dado or main body four feet square and three feet two inches high, to which is added a six inch top molding. On the front of this are two bronze wreaths and two inverted bronze torches, signifying that the light has been turned down, together with the following inscription:

EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON

Born in this City, December 19, 1814,

U. S. Attorney General 1860-1861,

SECRETARY OF WAR, 1862-1868

Justice U. S. Supreme Court, 1869

Died, December 24, 1869,

Erected 1911.

The bronze letters have been countersunk into the stone according to the latest approved methods, the work being pronounced by the New England

Granite Company as the best of the kind seen during an experience of forty years in the business.

The pedestal terminates in a surbase 9 inches high and five feet square, slightly smaller at the top.

Above this are the bronze plinth and the statue, the latter eight feet in height, considerably above life size. This figure does not represent Mr. Stanton at any particular moment or in any specific act of his career. His attitude is such as he may have assumed in addressing a court or any assemblage of persons, with the weight of the body borne largely but not entirely on the left leg, the right one being slightly advanced. The left arm hangs almost straight down but detached from the body, holding his notes or manuscript, while the right arm is bent upward with the hand over the breast in a position indicative of argument on some point. The head is erect, turned slightly to the left, and wears the spectacles, without which the popular idea of Stanton's appearance would be at sea. The open side of the statue is filled by a low pedestal over which is draped an American flag. Outside of its symbolism this acts as a relief figure. A statue in the modern frock coat is liable to appear top heavy unless the sculptor employs a device such as the flag and pedestal, to give mass at the bottom. At his feet lies a book on which rests a scroll. The bronze plinth three feet four inches square and three and one-half inches thick, supports the figure, and is bolted to the pedestal beneath. The figure weighs about 1,800 pounds including the plinth, and the height from the ground to the top of the head measures practically eighteen feet.

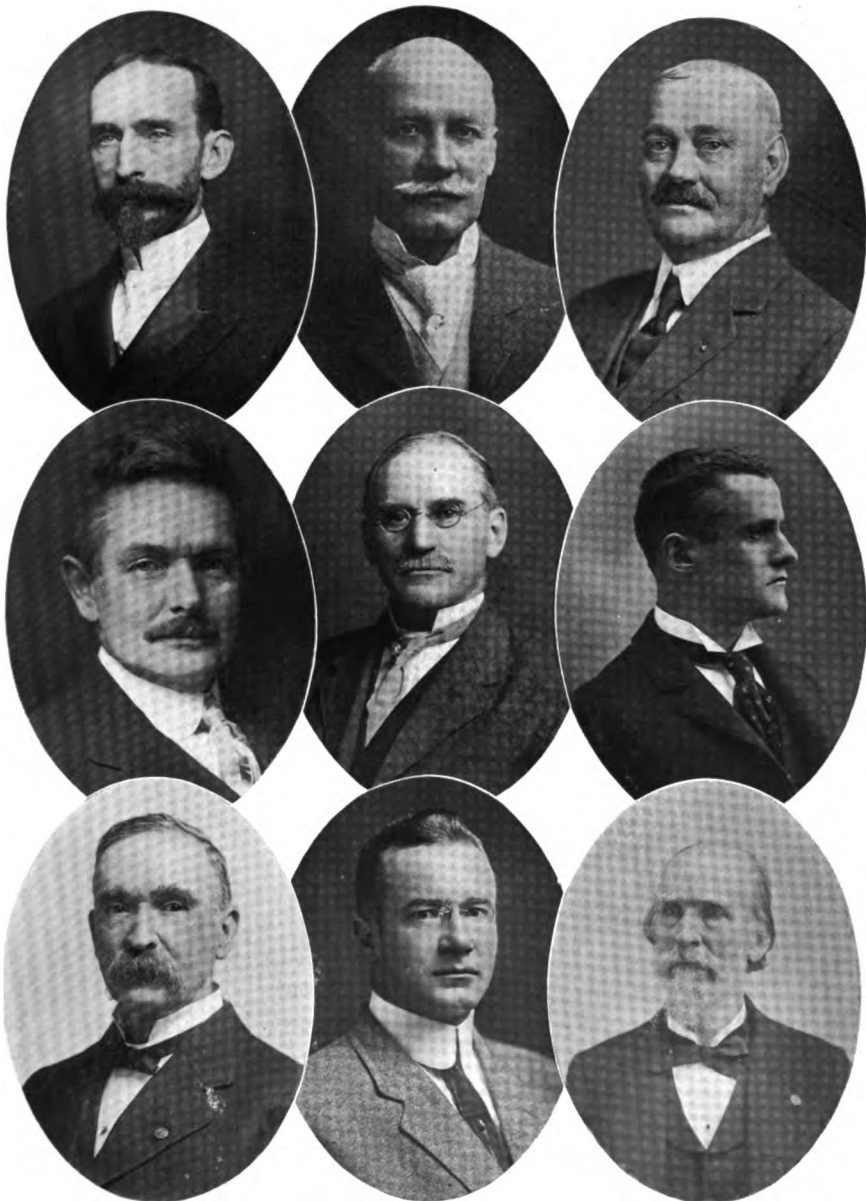
The sculptor regards the Stanton statue as one

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of his best productions if not his chef-d'œuvre in which those who have had the opportunity of viewing his other works will doubtless agree. The shade of bronze harmonizes well with the granite pedestal, and the whole is a work of which everyone interested should be proud.

The statue was shipped from the Roman Bronze Works, Brooklyn, on July 26, and arrived in Steubenville on Monday, July 30, but was not unboxed until the arrival of the pedestal on August 9.

In this connection a brief description of the making of the statue may prove interesting. As before stated the sculptor had been working on the model for about four years. This model is made of suitable clay, and occupies his studio in New York City. That completed the next step was to make a plaster negative or cast of the outside of the model. A wax pattern was then built by hand in this negative, the wax first being applied in a molten state with a brush, and later in sheets, after the wax coating has acquired sufficient thickness to protect the most delicate lines. The sheets are pressed into place by hand when the wax is sufficiently hard to permit handling and to be retouched by the artist where necessary. A composition practically liquid is poured in and around the wax composition to serve as a mold for the metal. This hardens in a few minutes, when the mold is baked over a slow fire, and later packed in a pit of sand. Bronze melted in a crucible is then poured into it. The next step is to break the molds carefully to avoid injury to the castings, and the metal figures are removed and trimmed. Very little trimming is necessary, and the figure is finally treated with chemicals to produce the color or "patina," which artists



TRUSTEES STANTON MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

Clarence J. Davis
Charles P. Filson
W. Frank Ridgley

George D. Cook
Josiah C. Ault
Gill McCook

Robert M. Francy
Dohrman J. Sinclair
Capt. John F. Oliver

so much admire, and which is especially noticeable in this statue. This process is known as the "cire perdue," or lost wax process, and was used by Benvenuto Cellini, the great Florentine artist, centuries ago, but is practiced by no other establishment in this country.

The statue was cast in several sections, which were riveted together and then welded by a strong electric current which made the joints invisible. As a precautionary measure two inch bolts fasten the plinth to the pedestal, although the weight of the statue would probably be sufficient to keep it in place.

For commercial purposes the "lost wax" process cannot compete with the ordinary method on account of the waste of material, hence its use is confined to high artistic work, and the same may be said of the grade of bronze used, which, in this instance, is the very best.

CHAPTER XX.

STEUBENVILLE'S GREATEST WEEK.

Beginning of the Celebration—Wonderful Display of Artistic Decorations—Arrival of the Military—Sunday Services—Great Labor Demonstration on Monday—Open Air and Promenade Concerts—Tuesday's Immense Fraternal Parade—Educational and Civic Gathering at Wells Auditorium—Unveiling Portraits of Judges Wright, Tappan and Cook.

To relate in detail the work leading up to the great demonstration, which not only made Stanton Memorial Week the greatest affair of the kind ever held in the Ohio Valley, but gave it a national significance, would require a library. For an adequate account of those proceedings one is referred to the local newspapers which did splendid service, and contributed in no small degree to the success of the occasion. By August 22d the statue was in position, and within a few days the work of improving the Court House plaza was completed.

Sunday, September 3, was officially designated as the opening day, but the arrival of the military on Saturday evening put the public on the qui vive. The city was already a mass of fluttering flags, pennants, streamers and bunting of all sorts. Pictures of Lincoln, Stanton and Grant graced the buildings, and Market street from Third to Sixth was converted into a court of honor, with white Corinthian pillars, crowned with laurel, the emblem of the old Isthmian games, through which the brilliancy of electric lights

at night illuminated in the modern manner the classic designs.

The Eighth Regiment O. N. G. under command of Col. Edward Vollrath, arrived about 5 p. m. on Saturday via the C. & P. railroad, and marched up Market street to Edwin M. Stanton camp on Pleasant Heights. The regiment mustered 51 officers and 650 privates and non-commissioned officers, with the regimental band in addition. The First Battalion, 26th U. S. Infantry, under command of Major L. L. Durfee arrived half an hour later from Fort Wayne, near Detroit, and pitched its tents adjacent to the militia. There were eleven officers and 310 men, with the finest military band in the country. Many of the men were veterans, having seen service in Cuba and in the Philippines, and their martial bearing and general deportment were subjects of general comment.

The city on Saturday night was like an immense section from fairyland. The streets were ablaze with electric lights, illuminating the wave like motion of the ocean of banners and bunting, while the mass of moving humanity imparted life and animation to a scene which will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

Sunday was a quiet day both in camp and in the city. Special religious services were held in all the churches as well as at the camp, with sermons appropriate to the events of the week just opening. Zion's Evangelical Lutheran Church on North Fifth street, held a special anniversary commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of its organization. Three interesting services were held, with elaborate musical programmes and sermons by prominent ministers of that denomination.

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At St. Paul's, Rev. W. M. Sidener took as his text Hebrews, 7:16, "The Power of an Endless Life." After reviewing the religious features of Mr. Stanton's life he referred to his influence and character, the effect of which never dies. His example imposes upon everybody the obligation to give the world the best that is in us, of cultivating simplicity, honesty and unselfishness, that our influence may be such that we shall not fear to face the truth that there is in each of us for good or evil, the "Power of an Endless Life."

At St. Stephen's, Rev. E. B. Redhead preached from the text, "Go home to thy friend." He called attention to the pleasure of returning to the home circle after long absence and meeting relatives near and dear. Then to renewing old friendships in one's own city, and finally to the best of all, the heavenly home, where there is no more sorrow or parting.

Rev. Dr. Robinson at Westminster Presbyterian Church preached a strong sermon in favor of Biblical instruction, making the point that as we were cleansing and beautifying the city for "Home Coming" week, let those who recognize the claims of the Word do as much towards the cleansing of the city morally and spiritually, which would make it almost ideal. He followed this by an evening sermon on "Indifference," by which, more than by direct opposition to the right, they permit the active forces for wrong to prevail.

Dr. J. H. Hollingshead, of Cleveland, preached at First M. E. Church in the morning, referring to the many changes in the congregation during the twenty years which had elapsed since his pastorate there. His text from Nehemiah 6:3; was a suggestion to

work in spreading the Gospel. Rev. J. C. Smith, of Warren, also a former pastor preached in the evening upon "The Household of God."

Rev. Walter Liggitt, at the United Presbyterian Church, preached an eloquent sermon in favor of following the old paths, that a new faith is no more needed to-day than is a new world. "In all your celebration ask for the old paths, walk therein and ye shall find rest for your souls."

At Hamline M. E. Church Rev. George K. Morris welcomed the home comers, and pointed to the only permanent home beyond the grave.

At the M. P. Church Rev. George P. Miller preached on "An Appreciation of Patriotism," which word expresses the worthy thing in the life of Stanton. Because he was a patriot, not because he was Secretary of War, we have erected his statue at the entrance of the Temple of Justice, we recall with interest every common incident in the history of his life, we spend money, time and thought in his honor. His contribution to the Nation's life was that through trying years and at great personal sacrifice he bore witness to the nobility of patriotism.

In the evening there was a special service for laboring men at the Christian Church at which Rev. A. F. Stahl took for his text, "The Laborer is Worthy of His Hire." He referred to the fact that Christ and St. Paul had labored with their own hands for their support. The Church is beginning to recognize that it is its duty to plead the laboring man's cause. It is not always to blame for the chasm which is alleged to exist between it and the laboring man. A sinner is a sinner before God regardless of his bank account, or whether he is in the office or at the bench.

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No man can be true to himself as a Christian who does not keep constantly in mind that every man is his brother, and one of the principles of unionism is the respecting of other men's interests as well as his own. The solution of all these problems is found in the Gospel of Jesus.

Rev. Carl Stackman, of the Congregational Church, delivered an evening sermon, pointing out that because we know what men of previous generations have done we want to do better things ourselves, and no such desire is without its direct result in men's lives.

Rev. George P. Rowland, at the Third Presbyterian Church, spoke of the benefits of "Old Home Coming" from Lev. 25:10, "And ye shall return every man unto his possession, and every man unto his family." So old home coming was a very ancient practice, and was an important factor in maintaining the national life, wherever the people might roam.

At St. Stanislaus Church, Rev. Father Smoger referred in appropriate terms to the home coming week, the pleasures to be enjoyed and the lessons which it taught.

The Italian Society connected with St. Anthony's Church celebrated the feast of Madonna del Popolo, "Mother of the People" by attending services, parade during the day, and display of fireworks in the evening. Reference was also made to the matter in other churches.

The secular exercises of the week opened on Monday, which was devoted to the labor organizations. The day was an ideal one so far as the weather was concerned, clear, cool and with just enough breeze to be exhilarating. Some three thousand men

were in line under direction of W. H. Ralston, Grand Marshal, and the pageant was brilliant with flags, showy uniforms, rich badges, tastefully decorated automobiles and carriages. Outside delegations were present from East Liverpool, Wellsville, Toronto, Follansbee, Mingo and other adjacent points, while the Steubenville societies were of course, strongly in evidence. After an enthusiastic parade to martial music through the principal streets, and an hour's rest for lunch, an immense audience assembled at the reviewing stand in front of the Court House. Frederick Bueche presided, and introduced Hon. M. N. Duvall as the first speaker. After a reference to the statue of the great statesman to be unveiled that week he added :

That in his judgment it was most fitting that the first day of the week's celebration should be dedicated to the cause of labor. * * * While it is true that labor has never received its just and exact proportion of its product, it receives today much more on the average than it did in former times; more necessities, more comforts and more luxuries. It will receive still more as the unions become closer united, and there is brought about a more brotherly feeling between employer and employed. The working man is growing better informed and wiser year by year. The average workman of the United States stands upon a much higher level than his brethren in other countries.

Mr. Duvall after a short address along this line was followed by Hon. Samuel Prince, of New York, who delivered an eloquent oration. Among other things he said :

Next Thursday there will be unveiled here the statue of a great statesman who had a great deal to do with having but one Union in the United States. The power of the working man lay in the use of the ballot, which can be used effectually to remedy such wrongs and abuses as still exist. As to the alleged kidnapping of John McNamara, the Steel and Iron Structural

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Workers official, he was not here to say whether McNamara was guilty or not guilty. He would honor and respect the verdict of any jury legally selected and constituted. He would believe him innocent of the charge laid at his door, however, until he was declared guilty, and the labor unions were appealing to the American people to contribute to a fund to be used in McNamara's defense, in the cause of justice. He was opposed to strikes and boycotts, which are bad for the employer, for the laboring man and for the community at large. The remedy is arbitration, differences should be talked over. The questions of shorter hours, wages and other subjects or grievances should be considered in conference between employer and employe. Out of one hundred possible strikes that might have been brought about during former conditions, ninety per cent. are now settled by arbitration. Strikes should be called only when other honorable means have been exhausted. If you must strike, then strike hard; you will have the sympathy of the public. The day is not far distant when the working man will be better rewarded for his labors. The laboring man forgets that in joining a union he benefits more in the way of shorter hours, more wages and more leisure time to spend with his family than he could ever possibly do by remaining unorganized. Get together and help yourselves, for God knows no one else will help you. No child under the age of sixteen years of age should be allowed to work in a factory. The great trusts of the United States are criminal. They combine to corner the necessities of life, and their owners should be put in jail for conspiracy. It is not the college bred men, the men educated by books and college curriculum who are brightest. It is the laboring man, the men whose education comes from observation by the naked eye who are really the most capable. Such men can fill any position with credit to themselves, to their fellow men, to God and to our country.

The crowd of spectators who thronged the streets in the evening were treated to a magnificent concert in front of the Court House by the 26th Regiment band. This is one of the very first bands in the country, and the concert was the best of that character ever given in Steubenville.

Later in the evening the Eighth Regiment O. N. G. band gave a brilliant promenade concert at the

Auditorium rink which had been beautifully decorated under the direction of the Ladies' Executive Committee, one of the most important factors in the week's demonstrations. The reception, which was entirely informal was attended by between one and two thousand persons. Lewis H. Stanton and family, who had arrived from New Orleans, were the central figures, while the greetings of the old home comers were numerous and cordial. The grand promenade led by Robert McGowan and Mrs. I. Sulzbacher, and participated in by the great crowd in the Auditorium, made the circle of the large apartment twice, and the spectacle was beautiful beyond description.

When the citizens of Steubenville and their guests arose on Tuesday morning the clear sky had given away to leaden clouds from which a drizzling rain dampened everything except the spirits of the people. In spite of this discouragement visitors began pouring into the city, and preparations went steadily onward for the big fraternal parade. The skies brightened by the time the procession was formed and the result was the finest pageant of the kind in the history of the city. It was estimated that there were 6,000 persons in floats, on horseback and on foot, representing nearly every fraternal organization in the county with many outside. Many brilliant uniforms were made especially for this occasion. Over a hundred ladies of the Royal Neighbors were in line dressed in white and carrying white parasols. The Rebekahs, Maccabees and Daughters of Pocahontas, had beautiful allegorical displays, and the Syracuse float of Steuben Lodge K. of P. attracted special attention. The W. C. T. U. had a float illustrative of its work, of the mother protecting her children, and

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nations where the society is at work. There were also displays by the Woodmen, Red Men, Odd Fellows, Eagles, with Polish, Hungarian, Magyar, Roumanian, Italian and other societies, Steuben Cadets, etc. Captain J. L. Selah was Chief Marshal, with H. M. Carpenter Chief of Staff, and Robert L. Freudenberger Adjutant.

The rain, which had been threatening all morning came in a regular downpour just as the parade ended, putting a stop to outdoor exercises for the time being.

The Eagles were awarded the prize for the best appearance, Maccabees for finest float, Woodmen for largest turnout, and Steuben Lodge K. of P. for largest turnout under one charter.

Notwithstanding unpromising weather the large auditorium of Wells High School building was crowded to the doors on Tuesday afternoon by a representative gathering to take part in the educational demonstration. Superintendent R. L. Ervin presided, and the pupils and audience under the direction of Prof. Phillips rendered patriotic songs. President Wm. F. Peirce, of Kenyon College was the first speaker. After a sketch of Stanton's College career he added:

The ideals of those early pioneer days were carried with him throughout life. For Kenyon was founded by a sturdy pioneer who himself embodied and impressed upon the college the robust self-confidence, the stern resolution and bold versatility that characterizes the pioneer spirit. He learned there to subordinate the material to the spiritual and to realize that greatness is found not in a man's possessions but in his character and spirit. With this clearness of vision in judging true values he gained, too, mental discernment to see the right clearly and the moral strength to follow it unflinchingly.

Edwin M. Stanton was pre-eminently a trained and disciplined man and thus in the truest sense educated. As a lawyer

he stood at the top of his profession. Stanton's training gave him a will which in defense of principle was inflexible and unyielding. To the Lincoln administration he was the rock of Gibraltar. Under Johnson his stern defense of principle under most unpleasant conditions is a matter of history. Reliance upon him was never misplaced.

In character, the college trained Stanton was incorruptible and upright. Having held the most eminent positions, he died a poor man. This statement seems the stronger if we remember the scandalous corruption that characterized the War Department under Lincoln's first Secretary, and that President Grant's Secretary of War hurriedly resigned to escape impeachment. To his country the career of Stanton is an inspiring example of unselfish devotion to the public welfare.

Kenyon College cherishes with devotion the memory of her great son. The students of each passing generation look at his portrait in the college library, and enter with respect the dormitory room where he lived. The Professorship of Economics is named in his honor, having been founded by a distinguished and philanthropic citizen in recognition of his personal debt to Stanton's life and example. In 1906 at the inauguration of this Professorship the donor, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, delivered an eloquent tribute, choosing as his title the words which I wish to leave with you this afternoon, "Stanton, Patriot."

Following Dr. Peirce was the famous negro educator, Booker T. Washington, and it is no derogation to the other eminent speakers of the week to state that no address was listened to more attentively or created stronger impression than Dr. Washington's. In clear and sensible presentation of facts and arguments and eloquent oratory it was a masterpiece. Among other things Dr. Washington said :

It is fitting, it seems to me, that the people of his home city and of his state should take the lead in inviting the Nation to share in the honor which is now being paid to the memory of Edwin M. Stanton. Secretary Stanton is one of the truly great characters of whom the Nation is proud, and it is a great privilege for me to have the opportunity of joining with you in honoring his memory. He was one of those great and unique characters who was not always understood when he lived and

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worked, but as the years pass by the Nation is learning to appreciate his true character and real worth. We must learn, it seems to me, as a Nation, in a larger degree to honor our great characters while they live as well as pay tribute to their memories after they have passed away.

No people are in a better position to pass judgment upon the character and the life of Stanton than the people in his home city where he lived and moved.

My part in this celebration, however, is not to extol the personal character of Secretary Stanton, but to try to show, if possible, some of the results that have come to my race and to the Nation by reason of the efforts of Abraham Lincoln and his great co-worker, Edwin M. Stanton.

When my race was made free through the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln we were in number about four millions. The race has steadily increased in numbers until at the present time there are quite ten millions of black citizens in the United States. Mr. Lincoln was warned not to free the millions of black people for the reason that they might become a burden upon the purse of the Nation. Mr. Lincoln was warned to the effect that these millions of black people would not be able to feed, clothe or house themselves, and therefore would be a continual burden upon the pocket of the Nation.

When we received our freedom we were without houses, and without the probability of inheriting anything from our ancestors. We have been free now during a period of forty-eight years. What have we done in a material way to justify the faith of Secretary Stanton and others in our race?

A conservative estimate shows that we have bought and paid for since our freedom over nineteen million acres of land. We are now in possession of over 200,000 farms. The negro race produces annually four and a half million bales of cotton valued at \$95,000,000. Every year such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee are turning out architects, contractors, brick masons, carpenters, plumbers, cooks, seamstresses, milliners and what not, and I am glad to say that these persons who master the skilled trades find no difficulty in finding employment in our Southern states.

When we were made free we had no stores or other business enterprises. To-day in the Southern states the negro owns and conducts about 10,000 little grocery stores, dry goods stores, shoe stores, etc. He owns and operates about 200 drug stores and 57 banks. While there is prejudice in other directions, in the matter of commerce the negro business man has about the same chance in his community as is true of the white man.

When the negro was made free only 30 per cent. of the race could either read or write. Steadily year by year we have reduced the percentage of illiteracy among us until to-day we have reached the point where 57 per cent. of the race can both read and write. To-day we have over 30,000 negro teachers in the public schools, and 236 industrial schools, colleges and universities with 43,000 students. In 1776 we had only three church organizations. The number has continued to increase until at the present time we have over 26,000 churches.

While a good deal is heard about the negro criminal, and while I admit we have too large a number of this class, I am glad to say that with few exceptions the educated colored persons living clean, upright, moral lives are very seldom even charged with crime or convicted of crime.

Gradually, too, everywhere more sane and just relations are beginning to exist between black people and white people. No scheme to transport the negro to some other country, or to eliminate him from American citizenship will be successful. We must face the fact, both North and South, that the two races are to live here for all time together, that they must live here in peace and in friendship, and that each race must do its part with patience and with sympathy, to bring about the best results.

Those who live in this generation are sharers in the wealth, the comforts, the education and prosperous civilization which the foresight and the sacrifices of such men as Secretary Stanton made possible. We should never forget in our prosperity the debt we owe to such great characters. We should never forget the work which Secretary Stanton started has not as yet been completed. His work will not be completed until poverty, ignorance, superstition, cruelty, race prejudice is eradicated from our American life. His work will not be completed until it is possible for every person suspected of crime, whether he be black or white, whether he lives at the North or at the South, is granted a trial by the courts of law, and that the barbaric habit of lynching and burning human beings, whether at the North or at the South, is completely rooted out of American life. Let us as we gather here to-day resolve anew that in the future our activities, our money, our sympathies shall be devoted to all that tends to bring about and perpetuate a feeling of friendship and happiness between all sections of the country and all races.

Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, being called upon gave some interesting reminiscences of the underground

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railroad, and the large audience was dismissed with benediction by Dr. Peirce.

In the evening Dr. Washington delivered an address at Quinn A. M. E. Church full of valuable instruction especially to his race.

During the progress of the exercises attendant on the unveiling of the Stanton portrait in the Jefferson county Court Room on April 14, 1906, the idea occurred to some members of the Bar Association that it would be desirable to have on the walls portraits of other members of the bar who had reflected special credit on their profession and on this community. Naturally the first person to be suggested in this connection was Colonel George W. McCook, deceased. He had not only been Stanton's law partner, but had himself made a National record in legal, political and military circles. The matter was broached to his son, George W. McCook and brother Colonel John J. McCook, with the suggestion that should the family of the deceased attorney and statesman conclude to present his portrait to the Association for a permanent place on the walls of the Court Room, it would be most thankfully received. After due consideration the members of the family decided to make the presentation, and commissioned Charles P. Filson, the well known artist to paint the portrait. Mr. Filson went immediately to work and by Wednesday, August 29, the portrait was hanging on the wall of the Court Room ready for the unveiling. The picture hangs above the mantel on the south side of the room with the face slightly turned towards the east, as though the subject were addressing his former law partner behind the judge's desk. The painting is three-quar-

ter length life size, and is not only a masterpiece of art and worthy companion to the Stanton picture, but an excellent portrait of its subject, recognizable on the instant. It represents Col. McCook standing by the trial table with a brief in his right hand, resting on a book which is lying on the table. His left arm is at his side, the hand not visible. The picture is 40x60 inches with gold carton pierre frame.

The dedicatory exercises were held in the evening. John McClave, Esq., acted as Chairman, and in his opening address gave an interesting biographical and character sketch of the deceased. Invocation followed by Rev. G. B. Smith, and George W. McCook, son of the deceased presented the portrait on behalf of the family. After appropriate music the portrait was unveiled by Mr. Filson. Hon. J. Dunbar accepted the portrait on behalf of the Bar Association, and was followed by Rev. A. M. Reid in a most brilliant and interesting address, giving a detailed history of the "Fighting McCooks." Mr. Filson was introduced and received the applause of the house, for which he returned thanks.

Col. John J. McCook, of New York, was called, and among other things complimented the county in producing such artists as Andrews and Filson, and told of Col. George W. McCook being at the Cincinnati Convention which nominated Buchanan for President, and making a speech there. Col. McCook was afterwards offered a place in Buchanan's Cabinet, but declined and suggested Stanton. The appointment was not made, but in the close of Buchanan's Administration when Black was shifted from the Attorney Generalship to the State Department Stanton succeeded him.

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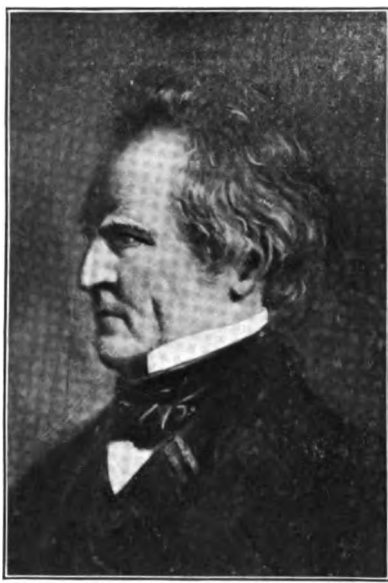
These pictures, not only commemorating distinguished individuals, but adding greatly to the artistic beauty of the already handsome court room, created a desire for others along the same line. In response to this sentiment Messrs. Andrews and Filson made a proposition to paint the portraits of Hon. Benjamin Tappan and Hon. John C. Wright, both eminent members of the bar, and present the same to the county. Their generous offers were accepted, the Stanton Monument Association agreeing to provide the frames, and arrange for the unveiling ceremonies. About the time these pictures were completed the death of Judge John M. Cook occurred, and the family of the deceased offered to present his portrait also to grace the walls of the Court Room. The commission for painting the same was awarded to Mr. Filson, who completed the work in time to hang the portrait with the others during the latter part of August, 1911.

Mr. Andrews has depicted Senator Tappan sitting beside a table on which is an assortment of law books. In his right hand, which is resting on the table is held an old fashioned quill pen, and the pose and intense expression on his face seem to indicate that a pause had been made in the writing to decide an important question before putting it on paper. The coloring is in that rich and vigorous style for which the artist is noted, and represents the subject at the height of his intellectual career.

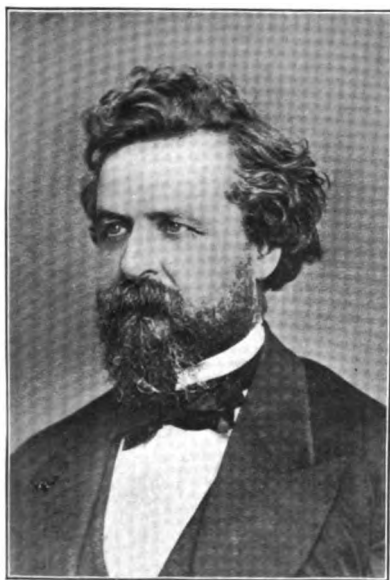
Mr. Filson's portrait of Hon. John C. Wright attracts attention second to none in the Court Room galaxy. Whether we regard it as mere portraiture or an ideal representation of the man and his character it would attract favorable attention in any salon



HON. JOHN C. WRIGHT



HON. BENJ. TAPPAN



COL. GEO. W. MCCOOK



HON. JOHN M. COOK

and from the highest critics. The artist has painted the noted jurist sitting with the left hand clasping an ivory headed cane and his right resting on an open law book which, with others, is lying on the table beside him. The expression is certainly all that could be desired, as it illustrates that sense of humor and the merry twinkle of the eyes for which the Judge was noted. The coloring and general execution of the portrait are of the highest order, and give the impression that the subject is about to speak to you. It is that of a joyous sunny character shining through the countenance.

The portrait of Hon. John M. Cook is more grave and sedate. It is a standing figure three quarters length, life size. The pose is one which his friends will recognize as characteristic of the Judge, representing his right hand at his breast with the thumb resting above the top button of his Prince Albert coat, and his left hand hanging at his side, clasping a brief. The coloring is true to life, and the likeness unanimously pronounced excellent. It is a fitting companion to the other portraits hanging in the Court Room, the whole making a collection of which the city and county may well be proud.

Tuesday evening, September 5th was set for the unveiling of the three portraits above described, the exercises being made a part of the proceedings of Home Coming week. A large audience assembled in Court Room No. 1 which was tastefully decorated with palms and ferns and National colors, but whose principal decoration was the portraits which graced its walls. An interesting programme of instrumental and vocal music had been prepared, and Hon. Jared Dunbar, presided. Invocation was offered by Rev. G.

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B. Smith, and W. R. Alban, Esq., representing the donors of the portraits and The Stanton Monument Association, presented the portraits to the county, the response on the part of the Commissioners being made by J. H. Paisley, Esq.

Space forbids even an abstract of the speeches made, which were not only of exceptional ability but by the research displayed and facts presented were of great historical value. To Hon. Rees G. Richards was assigned the discourse on Judge Wright, whose ancestry is traceable to John Wright, Bishop of Litchfield, Bristol and Winchester, England, in the sixteenth century. John C. Wright was born near Weathersfield, Conn., on August 17, 1783. He received an academic education, and studied law under Thomas Collier at Litchfield, Conn., whose daughter he afterwards married. In 1809 he came to Steubenville, and was admitted to the bar the following year. He helped to organize the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank of Steubenville in 1816, was appointed U. S. District Attorney in 1817, served in Congress from 1823 to 1829 where he made an exceptional record, was elected to the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1831, rendering faithful service, and moved to Cincinnati in 1835, succeeding Charles Hammond as editor of the Gazette. He retired after thirteen years, owing to defective eyesight. In 1861 he was appointed representative from Ohio on the Peace Commission which met in Washington in an endeavor to avert the horrors of civil war, and while in the performance of this duty he was stricken with paralysis on February 12, which proved fatal. His portrait was unveiled by his great granddaughter, Miss Mary Wright Kebler.

Hon. John A. Mansfield pronounced the eulogy

on Judge Benjamin Tappan, whose ancestors came from Yarmouth, England, in 1637, and settled in Massachusetts. Judge Tappan was born in Northampton, Mass., May 25, 1773. After a public school education he devoted himself to copperplate engraving, printing and portrait painting. Subsequently he studied law and was admitted to the bar at Hartford, Conn., coming to Ravenna, O., in 1799, being the first white settler in Portage county. In 1801 he married Miss Nancy, sister of John C. Wright, and was elected to the Ohio Legislature in 1803. He came to Steubenville in 1809, and entered upon the practice of the law also serving as an aide in the war of 1812. In 1816 he became Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and presided in that Court until 1823, where his decisions attracted general attention and are still cited as authority. President Jackson in 1833 appointed him U. S. District Judge, but the Senate failing to confirm his appointment he served but a few months. In 1838 he was elected United States Senator, serving with activity and brilliancy until 1845. He then resumed the practice of law, having previously formed a partnership with Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, which continued until his death on April 20, 1857. The cord which supported the flag covering his portrait was drawn by his great grandson, Master Tappan Collins.

To Addison C. Lewis, Esq., was awarded the duty of pronouncing the eulogy on Hon. John M. Cook, who was born at Burlington, N. J., on March 6, 1843. When eleven years old he came with his father to Allegheny, Pa., where he divided his time between his school studies and assisting in his father's shop. Graduating from a local academy he performed cler-

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ical work for three years, when he went to the Cleveland law school, from which he graduated in 1868. Being admitted to the bar June 7, 1869, he began the practice of law in East Liverpool, and on October 1, 1872, came to Steubenville, where his energy and ability soon placed him at the front of the bar. On December 23, 1874, he was married to Miss Elizabeth A. Little. In 1879 he was elected Prosecuting Attorney of Jefferson county, being re-elected in 1881. In 1900 he was elected Judge of the Circuit Court of the Seventh Ohio Circuit, and re-elected in 1906, serving until his death on July 10, 1910. His decisions were most able and forceful, and he was an active member of the Stanton Monument Association. His portrait was unveiled by his grandson, Master John M. Cook.

Beside the general public there was a large attendance of relatives and friends of all the deceased jurists, some of whom had come long distances in order to be present at these proceedings.

CHAPTER XXI.

CLOSING DEMONSTRATIONS.

Soldiers' Reunion—Speeches by Johnson, McElroy, Axline and Wilson—Veterans' Last Parade—Automobile Procession—Industrial Pageant—Thursday's Crowd—Military Parade—Unveiling the Statue—Addresses by Kerr, Smith, Harmon, Grant, Hatter, (Bates), Sickles, Pomerene and Miles.

As closely connected perhaps as any other event of the week with the memorial to Stanton was the veteran soldiers' reunion on Wednesday. It was in fact the beginning of the dedicatory programme which was completed on Thursday afternoon. The day opened with the 35th annual reunion of the 52d O. V. I. in G. A. R. post room. A. C. Blackburn presided, and Miss Lida K. Stewart acted as assistant secretary. Rev. N. B. Stewart led in prayer, when the memorial service was held for those who had died during the year. Scio was selected for the next reunion, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President D. U. McCullough; Secretary (for life,) Rev. N. B. Stewart; Treasurer, D. U. McCullough.

The Jefferson County Soldiers' Reunion was held at Turner Hall, to which all veterans were invited. Lunch was served to all comers, and in the afternoon occurred what will probably be the last general parade of the Jefferson county veterans. They met at the hall and marched to the Imperial hotel, where they paid their respects to Generals Grant, Miles and Sick-

les. Returning to their hall they organized by electing the following officers: President, Capt. J. M. Morrow; Vice President, T. S. Sanders; Secretary, W. J. McCann; Treasurer, Robert McGowan; Executive Committee, D. U. McCullough, J. B. Elliott, J. C. Ault, A. Gille, Thomas Gorsuch.

The first speaker was Hon. J. R. Johnson, of Youngstown, who urged unification of forces in teaching patriotism, and that no soldier should neglect becoming a member of the G. A. R. We should insist on purity in public affairs, and he rejoiced that anarchy and communism found no support among the old soldiers. They offered their service and lives for the Union, and the war was a test of republican government. The endurance has produced results, and our government has made remarkable strides. The soldiers' influence is in favor of progression, and by unveiling the Stanton statue they would confer an honor on one of the greatest citizens the country has produced.

Hon. John L. McElroy, editor of the National Tribune, Washington, D. C., referred to the necessity of additional pension service for the old soldiers, and presented a panegyric of Stanton in which, after expressing the belief that it was the providential interposition of Almighty God which produced such men as Lincoln and Stanton, he added:

Of all Lincoln's immediate councilors and advisors Edwin M. Stanton was the only one who towered toward the President's exalted plane, the only one that stood shoulder to shoulder with his against every storm that beat, the only one whose swift comprehension swept constantly the whole line of battle, the only one whose every thought was fuel to his burning zeal to win victory and save the country.

How marvelously Lincoln and Stanton supplemented and rounded out one another!

Lincoln bore the mountainous burden of the political strivings, the patriotic impatience, the aspirations, the sorrows and sacrifices of the people.

Stanton carried, like another Atlas, a world-burden of an army of a million fighting men, of a firing line 2,000 miles long, of incessant battling where men's lives were as grass cast into the fire, of sickening defeats and unavailing slaughters.

Lincoln struggled with the politicians, coped with the extremists who would not have the Union saved unless it was saved their way, baffled the Copperhead enemies in the rear, cheered the boys in the ranks; grieved with the fathers and sorrowed with the mothers and widows sitting in homes of bereavement and desolation.

Stanton was the war spirit incarnated. He set the factories to working night and day to furnish clothing, guns and ammunition, the railroads to carrying supplies. Men became of value to him only for what they could do toward suppressing the rebellion.

Regiments of stalwart, determined youths marching to the front brought him stern high joy, a well-equipped army exalted satisfaction, and a victorious commander his unstinted praise. To the coward and sluggard he was a Demon of Wrath; to the brave and zealous an Angel of Goodness. He had no friends, no enemies but those of his country. Disbursing money by the hundreds of millions, he lived and died a poor man. With a power in his hands such as no other man ever wielded, not a relative or personal friend was benefitted by it.

Body, brain nor heart was spared in his soul-absorbing battle for the Union. No slave ever toiled harder than he, no brain was ever perplexed with more momentous problems, no heart with such disappointments.

Who can picture what he endured during that awful December of 1862? Grant was making his only retreat—that from Holly Springs.

Sherman's army had been hurled back, mangled and bleeding, from Haynes Bluff; Rosecrans had fought the bloody and indecisive battle of Stone River, and Burnside had flung away 12,000 men in the mad assault on Marye's Heights.

What days of bitterness and nights of sleepless anxiety Chickamauga brought him!

Unless sustained by more than mortal strength Stanton could not have endured the prolonged agony of the Wilderness campaign. Day after day a thousand fell on the left hand and 10,000 on the right—the flower of the young manhood of the

Nation—the hope, the pride, the treasures of loyal homes—fought like demons in the dark, somber jungle, amid the stifling, murky smoke and raging fires that consumed the wounded and dying as they fell.

With a courage that was sublime, with a faith in the ultimate triumph of the Right that never faltered, Stanton rose in heroic majesty above all these, and pointed onward to victory.

His trumpet had no call for retreat—no notes except for advance.

Out of the fierce fires of four years of bitter civil war Edwin M. Stanton came with garments unsinged. No man was ever more bitterly hated, but it was by the cowards, the maligners, the men who were trying to gain selfish profit out of the distress of the country, and the Peace-at-any-Price conspirators. But their hatred was the stubble fire of the wicked which quickly passeth away.

A plain stone in the pass of Thermopylae, marking the spot where Leonidas and his 300 deathless Spartans lie, bore an inscription which has been an inspiration to the world for twenty-five centuries. It reads:

“Go, stranger, to Lacedaemon, and say that we lie here in obedience to her laws.”

The monument we unveil will have a like priceless value to the world—to countless generations yet unborn, to Nations now unknown.

It will tell of a plain American citizen, untrained in war and unknown as a leader of men, coming by what we can only understand as an act of Providence into the military leadership of a great, free, brave people, engaged in a mortal struggle for National existence. It will tell with what amazing power he rose to the pinnacles of achievement and carried out the mighty work of subduing an army of 1,700,000 brave, determined, fighting men occupying a territory larger than all of Europe outside of Russia. He raised armies greater than Napoleon ever commanded, and fought more tremendous battles than those by which the Corsican laid Europe prostrate.

He did his work so thoroughly that in the end nowhere in all that vast territory, among all that countless host of fighting men, did anyone dare raise a flag or draw a sword in defiance of the Government which had been so insolently assailed four years before.

To this work he unhesitatingly sacrificed all his ambitions, his professional career, all happiness and comfort, his very life. He did it in as strict obedience to his country's laws as those

who perished with Leonidas. He came out of the war broken in health, impoverished in purse, overwhelmed with a cloud of calumny to clog him in his beginning the struggle of life anew. He had not even sought credit for his great share of the work, but merged himself amid the throng of those who strove for the Union, and sought no other reward than the approval of his own conscience for what he had done to save his country.

As the years pass the mists of error disappear before the sunlight of truth, the clouds of detraction fall from their own evil weight. The fame of Edwin M. Stanton will grow as next to Lincoln, our greatest American.

The civil war was the great formative struggle of our National existence. Such another war will never recur. More and more as the years roll by it is looked upon as the splendidly heroic days of the Nation's youth.

"As the centuries fall like grains of sand
From out the Almighty Father's hand,"

posterity will hold the great civil war as the ancients did the earlier and heroic periods in their history when they beheld gods and giants fighting titanic battles for the creation and salvation of their countries.

The Saviors of the Union will form a glorious galaxy which will shine in hallowed, ever-brightening luster. And at the right hand of Abraham Lincoln, differing from him only as one star differs from another in glory, will stand Edwin M. Stanton.

Past Department Commander Gen. H. A. Axline gave a description of the privations the soldiers endured while in the field. He was cheered when he told about the hard tack, the coffee and fat bacon which they had as their menu three times a day. It was a glorious war, and the grub had the qualities that made them fight and die bravely if need be. The dial of civilization was turned onward further by the civil war than by any war in the past.

Erasmus Wilson, the "Quiet Observer," made the closing talk. After some humorous remarks he said:

The last shot at Appomatox declared this is a Nation, fused into one Nation, sealed by the blood of her sons. Paltry dollars

paid for pensions since the war are only an incident, not a result. As a result of the war the Southern cities are pushing forward like Western towns. Had it not been for the war the South would have been as poor as it ever was. There were no school houses along our line of march. To-day school houses are to be seen everywhere in the South. The Ninety-eighth boys who came home got married and went West and helped build it up. The war developed and broadened our ideas. Had there been a hitch in negotiations at Appomattox the war would have gone on, as Lee did not admit they were whipped. As a result of the war this country has gone on till we are at the head of the procession. All this country has to do is to raise its hand and the world sees and heeds, all the result of having established the union with one flag and not a star missing.

The automobile parade scheduled for Tuesday evening was postponed until the same hour on Wednesday. Although the storm prevented the appearance of many that were coming from a distance yet the hundred cars in line made not only a unique display, but one of surpassing beauty. Queen Titania certainly would have envied the occupants of those cars as they coursed through the streets with their gorgeous array of color and tasteful decorations. Where all were beautiful it was difficult to discriminate, but the committee on prizes after careful consideration awarded the following: First, S. L. May, car decorated in solid white, adorned with wisteria and purple chrysanthemums, a golden butterfly forming a canopy; second, Miss Mary L. Steele, mass of hydrangeas studded with electric lights of various colors, four doves adorning the corners of the canopy; third, I. Sulzbacher, decorated in green and yellow with white streamers in foreground; fourth, Frank D. Sinclair, shimmering mass of white with pink chrysanthemums. Special: Everett Ferguson, G. L. Huscroft and G. E. Wisener. Best out of town, A. L. Carter, Wellsburg.

Immediately after the auto parade came the industrial pageant, most spectacular in character with handsomely decorated floats representing the trade and industries of Steubenville and vicinity, including Y. M. C. A. and Turner Society athletics, with the city fire department. The route was one continuous line of red fire and cheers for floats and individuals. Geo. E. Sharpe was Chief Marshal, W. B. Donaldson, Chief of Staff, with F. C. Pew, Harry Scott, B. L. Sharp, J. C. Fitzsimmons, R. M. Castner, R. C. Kirk, Harry Grier, Walter Higgins, R. Laughlin, Edward Conley, Geo. Bair, Harry Swearingen, E. S. Pearce, A. W. McDonald, William Becker, as aides. There were 106 floats and wagons in the procession. The Pope Tin Plate Co. was awarded the first prize for the best float, and Acme Glass Co. for the best decorated wagon. Honorable mention for decorations, W. F. Davidson, Mosel-Johnson Co., Steubenville Pottery, Ohio Valley Clay Co., Workman Wagon Co., Carnegie Steel Co.. Honorable mention for wagons, Steubenville Ice Co., Ohio Foundry, Floyd Yocum, Union Lumber Co. Honorable mention for display, D. F. Coe, Fred Shannon, Steubenville Coal & Mining Co., Floto Bros

The evening closed with a fine concert by the 26th Regiment band, which was heard by thousands in front of the Court House.

As was expected the climax of the week's demonstration came on Thursday. Although the clouds were somewhat threatening the rain held off, and during the morning train after train, regular and special, poured its living mass of humanity into the city, while the different trolley lines were taxed to more than their utmost capacity. It was the greatest gathering ever in the Ohio valley, and a conservative

estimate places the number of visitors in the city at not less than 60,000. A special feature of the morning was the arrival of the Ohio society and others, of Pittsburgh, numbering some three hundred persons, with Nerilli's band, in charge of Roseman Gardner and John Campbell. Beside the National colors the party had a banner lettered: "Pittsburghers who have not forgotten their old home." Each visitor carried a steel cane in the form of a large nail, the gift of the Pittsburgh Steel Co. After a short parade the organization proceeded to its quarters in the Court House where it dispersed, leaving its banner and a number of canes as souvenirs of the occasion.

The military parade started from Camp Stanton at 10:40 a. m. with Major General Frederick D. Grant in command, and was a mile in length. As the Herald-Star of that day reported:

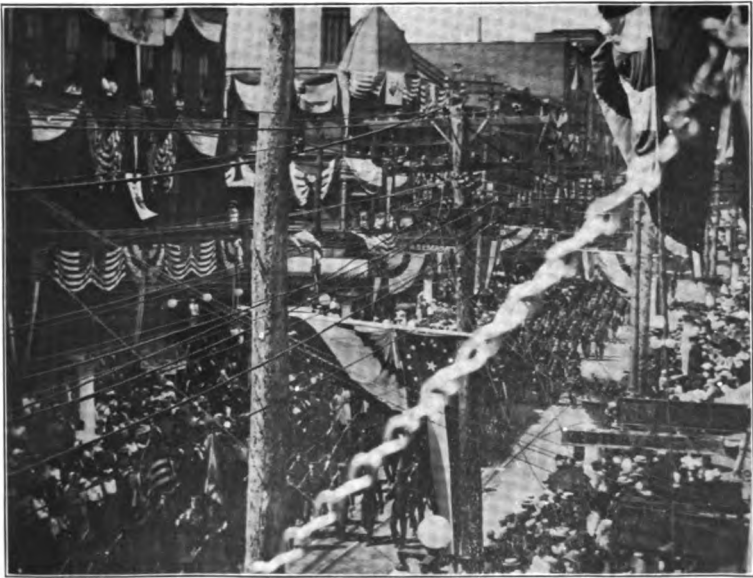
"It was a dignified showing of arms, resplendent with the military trappings and uniforms of the officers and men, and moved a steady column over the long line of march. The splendid music of the regimental bands, the perfect marching of the soldiers, prancing horses (who seemed as proud of the event as the men themselves) and the thousands of cheering spectators on the side lines, all added to the impressiveness of the scene. The steady tramp and soldierly bearing of the 26th Infantry, the Eighth Ohio, N. G., Pennsylvania and West Virginia troops and the other bodies in line created the greatest enthusiasm and brought forth plaudits all along the line. His excellency, Governor Judson Harmon, General Grant, Gen. Miles, Gen. Sickles, Col. Vollrath and Lewis H. Stanton, son of Secretary Stanton, were kept busy bowing acknowledgements to ovations tendered them by the



GOV. JUDSON HARMON



GEN. FREDERICK D. GRANT



MILITARY PARADE
Governor Judson Harmon and General Frederick D. Grant at Head

multitude. The regulars and 8th Ohio came in for especial hearty applause, as did the 14th Regiment Battalion from Pittsburgh and band, the Wellsburg Guards, Spanish American War Veterans, Boys' Brigade from Wheeling; also the Volunteer Firemen, a well trained body of men from McDonald, Pa., with a band."

The formation of the parade was as follows:

Governor Judson Harmon and Staff, mounted.

Civil Marshal, A. A. Franzheim.

Eighth Ohio Staff Officers.

General Daniel E. Sickles and party in auto.

General Nelson A. Miles, Major Sweeney and party in auto.

Hon. Lewis H. Stanton, Mayor T. W. Porter and C. J. Davis in auto.

Major General Frederick D. Grant, mounted.

Staff Officers of Twenty-sixth regiment, U. S. A.
Twenty-sixth Regiment band.

Twenty-sixth Battalion, marching by fours.

Colonel Vollrath, Eighth Ohio.

Staff Officers, Eighth Ohio.

Eighth Regiment Band from Akron.

Eighth Ohio Regiment.

Nirelli's Band, of Pittsburgh.

Major A. B. Cookson, Major J. F. Edwards, Commissary Captain Murray J. Livingston, commanding the Fourteenth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Fourteenth Regiment of Pennsylvania, four companies.

Wellsburg Company C, West Virginia National Guard.

Wellsburg Drum Corps.

Steuben Camp Spanish-American War Veterans.

Captain Honecker.

Boys' Brigade from Wheeling, with field piece, which was fired at intervals.

McDonald Band.

McDonald Volunteers.

Fire Department.

The route of the parade was as follows: Camp Edwin M. Stanton, Lawson to Market, Market to Fifth, Fifth to Franklin, Franklin to Fourth, Fourth to Logan, Logan to Third, Third to Dock, Dock to Fourth, Fourth to Slack, Slack to Fifth, Fifth to Market, Market to Third, Third to Washington, Washington to Sixth and disbanded. The different objects of interest connected with Stanton's life were passed during the parade. As the Gazette says: "Along the entire line of march, which ended at the reviewing stand, after passing which the men marched to their respective camps, a continuous ovation greeted the distinguished visitors and soldiers. The marching of the men was almost perfect, the alignment of ranks being greatly admired. The greetings given Governor Judson Harmon, Major General Frederick D. Grant, General Nelson A. Miles, General Weybrecht and General Sickles as they came on the reviewing stand was a splendid one. The throng broke loose with a long refrain of cheers that rung from block to block on every street."

The hour for the unveiling exercises was fixed at 1:30 p. m., and by that time the space about the speaker's stand was packed by a mass of people on Market, Court and Third streets, which numbered not less than 20,000. It was an ocean of faces and heads. As the distinguished visitors arrived they were warmly greeted, and shortly after the time ap-

pointed Hon. Frank H. Kerr, President of the Stanton Monument Association called the vast assemblage to order with the following address:

The appointed hour for the unveiling of the bronze statue of Hon. Edwin M. Stanton has arrived. The labors of the Stanton Monument Association are about completed.

This Association was organized and received a charter from our state in the fall of the year 1897, very soon after the celebration of the centennial of our county and city, during the ceremonies of which a bronze tablet, the gift of the children of this county, was placed to mark the location of the birthplace of Secretary Stanton. The Association was allowed to remain inactive until April, 1906, when a portrait of Mr. Stanton, the gift of Mr. Eliphalet F. Andrews, a native of this city, was placed in one of the county court rooms. This event, coupled with a generous offer made about that time by the sculptor of this memorial, Mr. Alexander Doyle, also a native of this city, gave new life to the Association and new hope to its members of obtaining for this county a statue of its greatest son. The Association was then reorganized. Mr. George W. McCook, whose recent death we greatly lament, became its president, and new plans made to vigorously prosecute the work of bringing about a consummation of the object of the organization.

The people of Jefferson county, by their Commissioners, after authority granted them by a special act of the General Assembly of this state, made a small levy which enabled them to turn over to our fund from the county treasury a modest contribution for the project.

The war time and other friends of Mr. Stanton were invited to make voluntary contributions and they responded cheerfully, some by an offering in cash, others in favors and services rendered in our cause, the cash value of which cannot be measured by dollars, and it was then only a short time until the object and purpose of the Association was assured. To-day we are proud of the fact that we unveil and dedicate in this county a third memorial to the memory of one of the greatest war ministers of the world.

We are proud of the distinction of erecting the first statue of the great War Secretary in the Nation, but at the same time we feel the sting of reproach that this much deserved tribute has so long been delayed. We hope that the time is not far distant when the authorities at Columbus and the Government

at Washington will erect memorials in honor of Mr. Stanton commensurate with the great service he rendered his country in suppressing the rebellion and preserving this union of states.

As President of the Stanton Monument Association, voicing the feelings of its members, I hereby publicly express our very hearty appreciation and cordial, sincere thanks to all who have contributed in any manner to the erection of this splendid statue. I hesitate to name and especially thank any person for his contribution lest I do an injustice to others, but I know I will be pardoned by all when I mention the services voluntarily and cheerfully rendered by our sculptor, Mr. Alexander Doyle. It was his offer to contribute his services that first made the memorial possible. It has been a labor of love with him, and he has especially aided us in our work. We sincerely appreciate his services and uniform kindness, and gratefully thank him for it. We deeply regret that illness in his family prevents him joining us to-day in these exercises. I shall also be pardoned if I make mention of the willing and cheerful aid rendered in every way possible by the members of the Board of County Commissioners, and take this occasion to express to them our grateful thanks.

We are especially favored today by the large number of war time and other friends of Mr. Stanton, some of whom have traveled far to be here and pay tribute to his memory and aid in the success of this occasion. We thank them sincerely for the honor of their presence, and we hope they will carry away with them memories that will serve in the future to give them fond recollections of Steubenville.

The members of the Stanton Monument Association, after their many months of care and work, are happy in the fact of the full fruition of their labors, and on their behalf as the president of the Association, I now transfer and convey this statue to the people of Jefferson county by surrendering it to the care of their chosen custodians of their public property, the Board of County Commissioners and their successors in office forever.

I now introduce Carl H. Smith, Esq., a member of the Jefferson County Bar, whom the Commissioners have chosen to express for them words of acceptance of the trust.

Mr. Smith responded :

Jefferson county to-day proudly welcomes her sons and her daughters on this the most important day in the county's his-

tory. Adorned in her gorgeous garments and in the midst of martial music, she is proclaiming the appreciation of her priceless heritage. She is not boasting to-day of her wonderful and inexhaustible natural resources, nor of her fertile and productive fields, nor of her varied and prosperous industries, but she does come bearing in her hands an inheritance of more value than fine gold. Hers is a legacy of men mighty in deed and matchless in skill.

We are here to-day to both commemorate the deeds of the dead as well as to pay homage to the enduring fame of him whose masterful genius conceived and created the classic image of the one whom we have assembled to honor. Monuments and eulogies belong to the dead. We give them this day to the Hon. Edwin McMasters Stanton. All hail to his fame! It is a special heritage to our county. But in the acceptance of this priceless gift our hearts are filled with the highest appreciation of the marvelous skill and loving devotion to his native county that inspired the illustrious sculptor, Alexander Doyle, to create and donate this monument to the city of his birth. Most illustrious and deserved are his merits, and far distant be the day when any inscription shall bear his name or any tongue pronounce his eulogy. We cannot over-estimate the debt we owe to the men of genius. Take from our world what they have given and all the walls would be naked, music would go back to the open air, and the forms of statue, urn or bust would crumble and become the unmeaning waste of thoughtless chance.

After a lapse of forty years of unbroken national silence the memory of Edwin M. Stanton is receiving worthy and deserved recognition. It is therefore meet that we should make merry and be glad for this the memory of our son was dead and is alive be glad for this the memory of our son was dead and is alive again. He was an American proud of his country. He believed in the royalty of the man, in the sovereignty of the citizen and in the matchless greatness of this republic. Above his marvelous intellectual gifts, above the ermine which he was not permitted to wear, rises his courage and his integrity like some great mountain peak, and there it stands as firm as the earth beneath and as pure as the stars above.

In this life like the classic mold, the handiwork of the world renowned sculptor, we behold today a human counterpart of this great character. There is that pride of the intellectual Greek and that bearing of the conquering Roman as he stands forth in the wide free air as though through his veins

there flows the blood of a hundred kings. Yea, we distinctly discern the qualities of a brave, imperious, fearless and courageous man, who bowed only to death.

Mr. Chairman, with the formalities and solemnities suited to this occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessings, and in the presence of this vast cloud of witnesses, Jefferson county accepts this monument as a sacred trust. May it remain as long as heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem both of the man in whose memory it is raised and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

At the conclusion of Mr. Smith's address the band struck up "Star Spangled Banner," when Mrs. Cora Stanton Jahncke, granddaughter of Secretary Stanton, pulled the cord which bound the drapery around the statue, and amid music and cheers, the fine proportions of this artistic work were exposed to view. The other members of the Stanton family on the platform were Lewis H. Stanton, son of the Secretary, his son, Edwin M. Stanton, son-in-law Ernest L. Jahncke, and Stanton Habersham, grandson of the Secretary. The family secured the flags which draped the statue as mementoes of the occasion.

The Chairman read a telegram from Hon. Robert T. Lincoln regretting his inability to be present, as he had intended, on account of illness. Col. John J. McCook and Gen. Anson G. McCook, of New York, were also detained at home by the serious illness of the former, and as these pages were passing through the press intelligence was received of the death of Col. McCook at his summer home at Seabright, N. J., on September 18, 1911, at the age of 67 years.

Hon. Judson Harmon, Governor of Ohio, was the first formal speaker. Among other things he said:

I suppose the people of Steubenville differ on some things, but when it comes to patriotism and hospitality, there is no doubt about your good intentions. I have never seen a city more generally decorated nor a greater outpouring of the population than I have seen today. Baron Steuben coming here during the Revolutionary war to discipline the troops which was needed made it appropriate that Stanton should be born in the town named for Steuben and that the statue should be erected here. A public man has to subordinate his own interests and reputation for the time being so that the interests of the people shall not suffer. Stanton's courage was the greatest the war produced in what he endured in his conduct of the war. The duties of many public men are a great tax upon their energies and resources. It was a most distressing thing for a man in whose power it lay to either spare a life or say that the law should take its course, to have to say no, where he would like to say yes, and when little children were pleading for executive clemency to stay an execution, it was hard to refuse the pleading. But duty has to be done, even at the risk of misrepresentation and calumny. Secretary Stanton had many disagreeable duties to perform, but he never flinched in their performance, although caluminated, abused and slandered. In order to refresh his memory he had expected to read a few passages in the life of Stanton before coming here. Instead of that he read thoroughly the entire two volumes, so absorbing was the biography. He felt proud of the fact that Stanton was a Democrat, and "not a half baked one, either." He never noticed his critics, but pursued the policies he had mapped out, paying no attention to criticism or abuse. Replying to a letter he had at one time received from a minister friend, who wrote regretting the stories that had been circulated about him, Stanton said that the great conflict involved such conditions as made all personal feelings merely "as dust in the barrel." He said he had suffered great mental anguish because of the false and slanderous stories and reports, but he couldn't speak out, he had, for the country's sake, to remain silent. Stanton loved the Union better than his own life. He sacrificed not only fortune, but life itself for his country. The monument unveiled to-day shows that republics are not ungrateful.

General Grant was the next speaker, and received the same ovation that had been accorded him else-

where. He gave a condensed review of Stanton's career with the following additional comments:

I feel deeply honored in being designated as the one to represent the War Department at these ceremonies, in the unveiling of the statue of the late Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, formerly Secretary of War. I am not only honored, but especially grateful to be with you here in your interesting city, on this memorable occasion, and I realize that your kind welcome which I much appreciate, is not so much for me personally as it is given in honor of the memory of my father, General U. S. Grant, who was born in your great state of Ohio. It seems peculiarly appropriate that I, his son, should come here to pay tribute, to the memory of his co-worker for the Union during the great Civil War.

I have heard my father speak in praise of the great War Secretary, whose honesty of purpose, determination, unflinching character and unswerving loyalty to his country, aided so greatly the armies in the field, to bring about their successes, which secured to us, this great united country.

During those trying days of strife and disorders, when many were carried away by personal, selfish interests, and when contentions and violent bitterness ran high in political circles, then it was, that the honesty of purpose and absolute integrity of character of Edwin M. Stanton shone forth as a guiding light, a credit to our people and to our Government.

Let it be ever remembered, to the honor and glory of Secretary Stanton, that his loyalty to the Union cause, never wavered. Against the cause, he brooked no opposition, and he brought to bear all his power and energy, to crush those whom he suspected of lacking in loyalty to the Union. Let it not be forgotten that after passing through the years of the Civil War, at the head of a department in which, not only millions, but billions of dollars were expended under his orders, he, Secretary Stanton, retired from public office, a poor man.

I was with General Grant, when he, then President of the United States was contemplating the appointment of Mr. Stanton, as a member of the Supreme Court, I heard my father say, that he wished to make that appointment because of Mr. Stanton's ability and integrity, and that it would give him special gratification to do so, because of the ex-Secretary's financial needs.

Now, in these days of peace, so many years after our great civil strife, few can realize, the bitter controversies which ex-

isted during the "Reconstruction Period" after the Civil War. Then, it was that Stanton's work was most important to the United States Government. His resolutely remaining as long as possible, in President Johnson's cabinet as Secretary of War for the sole purpose of opposing and thwarting, what he deemed, the dangerous and treasonable projects of the President, was of inestimable value to the Union cause.

It was throughout this trying period, that General Grant and Secretary Stanton were most closely allied, personally, and officially in their work. They had never met until after the battle of Chickamauga, when Grant was placed in command of the Western Armies. Then an interview of a day occurred between Grant and Stanton as they traveled together from Indianapolis to Louisville, and discussed the military situation. After Grant became General in Chief of all the armies, their intercourse was necessarily constant and confidential. They, having been loyal co-workers during the war, now, during the Reconstruction, stood firmly in unison. This crisis, both deemed, as important as any crisis, through which they had already passed, for the safety of our Republican Institutions. It was to these two men, the Secretary of War, and the General Commanding the Army, that the loyal people of the North then turned, to maintain and execute the measures and laws which had been passed by Congress, as the outcome of the victories of the northern armies.

It is not necessary to dwell at this time upon the history of those stirring days. We are here, to add our tributes in praise, of the great patriot, Edwin M. Stanton, in honor of whose memory, this stately monument is erected, and unveiled to-day, in Steubenville, the city in which he was born.

It is ennobling to recall Stanton's deeds of unwavering loyalty and patriotism, his unflinching integrity, and his zealous energy, in the pursuit of what he deemed right, in a just cause. Patriotism is kept alive in our hearts by cherishing the memory of such great statesmen, whose devotion to the principles of liberty and union, in services to their country during times of trouble and stress, aided vastly in maintaining those Republican Principles and Institutions which we so value and stand ready to defend.

It is said, that: "Sordidness walks hand in hand, with weakness and vice." In this era of marvelous wealth and luxury, let us not forget those, gone before, who, in their work were great and noble patriots. Let us cherish the memory of their deeds, and with these monuments, preserve, ideals of loyalty and truth, for ourselves, and our descendants.

This beautiful statue will be forever preserved here, in honor of the memory of Edwin M. Stanton, recalling his life work and his splendid example of honesty, loyalty and patriotism.

Next on the programme was a monograph entitled "Stanton and the Telegraph Office," by David Homer Bates, manager of the War Department telegraph, and author of "Lincoln and the Telegraph." It was read by John C. Hatter, who was an enlisted soldier detailed as an orderly at General McClellan's headquarters, 1861 to 1862. Later he became orderly and messenger for Secretary Stanton, and was with the latter until he died in 1869. Following are some excerpts from this interesting paper:

Edwin M. Stanton became interested in the Morse telegraph as early as 1847, three years only after the opening of the experimental line between Washington and Baltimore. The telegraph had crossed the Alleghenies in 1846, the first message out of Pittsburgh having been sent December 29 of that year, advising President Polk of the departure of Pennsylvania troops for General Zachary Taylor's army in Mexico. To carry the telegraph west, the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & Louisville Telegraph Company was formed in September, 1847, and in the list of directors appear the names of two residents of Steubenville—Edwin M. Stanton and Joseph Means. Another director was Lewis Hutchinson, who, it is presumed, was Stanton's father-in-law. The United States military telegraph corps was a special organization under the immediate direction of the Secretary of War.

The history of the civil war was largely recorded by telegraph, which branch of the service Stanton called his right arm.

My father, Francis Bates, a former resident of Steubenville, and a member of the same Masonic lodge with Stanton, was given the custody of the baggage and papers of Davis, Beauregard and other Confederate officials until the Archive Bureau was established. He remained in the employment of the Bureau for sixteen years, until his death. It is due to Stanton that the valuable historical records of the war were preserved and finally published in 128 large volumes.

There was a marked contrast between Lincoln's manner,

which was always pleasant and conciliatory, and that of his great War Secretary. The latter's stern, spectacled visage commanded instant respect, and in many cases inspired fear. The almost overwhelming burden of the great struggle for the life of the Nation was ever pressing upon Stanton's heart and brain, and he even begrudged the time which he believed wasted in ordinary civilities, and was impatient with every one who failed to show like zeal and alertness with himself. He was not blessed with Lincoln's happy faculty of story-telling or exchanging badinage, which to the latter was a God-given means of relief from the awful strain to which he was subjected. And yet there were times when even Stanton would soften and when he would disclose a kindly nature, the knowledge of which would come as a sharp surprise to any one fortunate enough to be present on such an occasion.

* * * * *

Stanton was a slave to his work. He came early to the War Department and rarely left for home before 10 o'clock at night. The only vacation he is known to have taken was after the war closed, when he spent August and part of September, 1865, in a trip to New York, Newport and Boston. I accompanied him as cipher operator. The party was entertained by prominent citizens, and Stanton greatly enjoyed the respite from official cares. The relations between Lincoln and Stanton were very close, and almost without exception harmonious. There never was any real conflict between them. It suited both to treat the public each in his own characteristic way, and when in any case the pinch came each knew how far to yield to the other without sacrifice of prerogative. When Lincoln died, Stanton, who was himself an autocrat, is reported to have said: "There lies the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen."

In my humble opinion, it is a Nation's shame that, while monuments have been erected to Davis, Lee and Stuart, who strove to destroy the Union, Stanton's extraordinary services in saving his country have not been recognized by a memorial at the Nation's Capital, and that it has been left to his native town, and to his friends and admirers, to do him honor, even at this late date, forty-six years after the close of the civil war.

General Daniel E. Sickles was the next speaker, and his stentorian voice soon caught and held the attention of the crowd:

He said he was glad to be among the friends of his friend,

Stanton, and he wished that by the grace of God, Stanton's spirit could be present today; he believed it was present. He dwelt upon his long, close and intimate acquaintance with Lincoln's War Secretary. One bond between them was that they were both loyal Democrats. He himself was a tough Democrat; a fighting one; a Tammany Hall Democrat. He spoke of Stanton's early days as a lawyer and of his great qualities as a member of the bar. He touched upon the fact that he was glad to remember it was he who first got Stanton to read novels, and told of Stanton's avidity as a novel reader when he had once started in to read what he had formerly characterized as "stuff." The General said that Secretary Stanton had never been understood or appreciated by the American people during his life, but he rejoiced that at even this late day a splendid monument testified to the appreciation of the present generation and the loyalty of the people of Steubenville to his memory. He hoped yet to see Stanton's monument at Washington, and urged that the Governor and the Congressmen of Ohio should not be allowed to rest until Congress voted \$50,000 for that purpose. He concluded with some interesting reminiscences.

Senator Atlee Pomerene followed Gen. Sickles in a brief but forceful speech.

Referring to Stanton's unswerving policies during war times the speaker said all men should have the courage of their convictions. A good head, a good heart and a good mind do not make a perfect man. To these should be added a stiff backbone, such as makes a fighter, not only in times of war but in times of peace. The dangers that confront us today are not from abroad, but from enemies within our midst. The patriotic man is he who can only see, think and act for the public. A glowing tribute, eloquently expressed, was paid to the man whose memory is being honored on this occasion. The Senator concluded his address by an allusion complimentary to Governor Harmon.

General Nelson A. Miles was the last speaker:

He said he was not on the programme, but had finally been prevailed to say a few words. He said he should fail in his duty if he failed to endorse every sentiment that had been expressed to-day in memory of the services of that splendid character and statesman, E. M. Stanton. The people of Steubenville and Jefferson county did themselves honor in honoring that great man, and the occasion was an illustration and dem-



MRS. CORA JAHNCKE



MRS. D. J. SINCLAIR



UNVEILING STANTON STATUE

onstration of the fact that the spirit which actuated Mr. Stanton was still here. No more perfect character was storied in history. In his home life, his early life and his domestic life he was a pure and upright citizen. General Miles spoke in strong commendation of the War Secretary's ability as an organizer, and told how he had stopped the fraud, speculation and corruption very shortly after assuming office. He did more to preserve this Government than any man had done for the last one hundred years. General Miles congratulated the people to whose efforts this statue of imperishable bronze was due.

After General Miles's speech there was a general movement to shake hands with the distinguished guests on the platform, after which the great crowd slowly dispersed.

It was perhaps fitting that the leading events of the week should close with a complimentary reception and ball to the military and others who had graced the occasion with their presence. Additional touches had been given the Auditorium rink which was almost a mass of drapery. The dais for the orchestra, the lobbies, staircases, dressing rooms, balconies and seats ranged along the walls were draped in white. American flags, festoons, streamers and groupings of red, white and blue bunting depended from and were attached to the cross beams and ceiling, while the four walls of the building were literally hidden by American flags, clusters of green boughs and other decorations. The effect thus produced was heightened by electric lights, which shone among the vari-colored draperies, to say nothing of the brilliant costumes of the ladies and the blue and gold of the military.

Previous to the dancing the 26th U. S. Infantry band under the direction of Prof. Belisle rendered a choice concert programme, followed by the evolution known as "Receiving and Saluting the Flag" by

seven civil war veterans, namely: James F. Sarratt, 2nd O. V. I.; John F. Oliver, 25th O. V. I.; William Ruddicks, 1st Va. Cavalry; B. H. Maxwell, 52nd O. V. I.; Alfred C. Blackburn, 52nd O. V. I.; James Farmer 157th O. V. I., and J. C. Ault, 1st O. V. I. It was an inspiring performance highly appreciated. With J. C. Ault as color bearer the veterans then opened the grand march, which was then formed with the following leaders: Col. Sharpe, United States Army, and Mrs. D. J. Sinclair; Major Durfee, 26th Infantry, U. S. A., and Mrs. Robert McGowan; Colonel Vollrath, 8th Ohio Regiment, and Mrs. N. G. Kirk; Lieutenant Purcell, 26th Infantry, U. S. A., and Mrs. W. McD. Miller; Major Crookston, 14th Pennsylvania Regiment, and Mrs. E. Y. Dougherty; Captain Priest, 8th Ohio Regiment, and Mrs. I. Sulzbacher; Major Devore, aide to General Grant, and Mrs. R. G. Richards; Captain Huston, 8th Ohio Regiment, and Mrs. P. E. Brady; Captain Houle, 8th Ohio Regiment, and Mrs. L. M. Leopold; Captain Parker, 8th Ohio Regiment, and Mrs. C. J. Davis; Captain Eddy, 8th Ohio Regiment, and Mrs. A. B. Sharpe. Dancing was continued until a late hour, with refreshments served at intervals, while a large marquee tent was provided for the smokers. It was a brilliant ending to a glorious event.

The Toronto Tribune remarks: "When the orchestra in the Auditorium wailed out the waltz, "Home Sweet Home," it was the swan song of Steubenville's big week, from which events in the future will be dated."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LIGHTER SIDE.

High Class Entertainments—Aeroplane Flights—Aquatic Sports
—Motor Boat Contests—Historical Exhibit—Fireworks—
Family Reunions.

It has doubtless been noticed by the readers of the preceding pages that all the events leading up to the unveiling of the statue were of a superior order. Whether in painting, sculpture, artistic decoration, music or oratory, there was the best obtainable in each department. A friendly rivalry prevailed among the different organizations to reach the highest possible standard along the lines mentioned, and the result was that the week was one of education, uplifting and enjoyment that only comes from the exercise and cultivation of the higher faculties. From the Sunday religious services and Monday's great labor demonstration to the last note of the orchestra on Thursday night was this standard maintained, and the spirit which animated the management, the committees and the participants communicated itself to the people generally. Although the crowds were unprecedented never was there better order on the streets, and it was a significant fact that the piano and solo passages in the public band concerts were listened to with close and quiet attention not always found in the so-called cultured audiences of a grand opera or music hall. The addresses received the same thoughtful attention, which was fully deserved. But even Shakespeare's tragedies must have a foil, and it

was recognized that some sort of entertainment must be provided for the people outside the rich fare already laid out. Hence an amusement committee was appointed, which entered into the spirit of the occasion. It was recognized from the start that even this feature should not be allowed to degenerate into an ordinary street carnival with its horn and confetti nuisances, but should represent the latest achievements in mechanics, athletics, etc. First and foremost as the primary achievement of the twentieth century was the airship. Although the cost seemed prohibitive yet the enthusiasm of the young men in charge overcame that obstacle, and a contract was made with the Wright Brothers for a three days' flight by one of their latest improved aeroplanes. The golf links of the Country Club with some adjacent ground were secured for the flights, giving one of the best fields in the country. Monday was an ideal day, clear and pleasant with no serious cross currents of air to perplex the aviator. Special trains on the C. & P. railroad and packed trolley cars with autos carried several thousand to the field during the afternoon. The starting course was roped off and guarded by a force of deputies and State troops. The enterprise was in charge of A. G. Lee, J. H. Andrews, Nelson Miller and Frank D. Sinclair. At four o'clock Aviator L. W. Bonney entered the machine, and a few seconds later the whirl of the propellers announced the start. Rising about 200 feet Bonney circled the field in spiral form until he was up 1,200 feet when he gave a series of tricks, including spiral gliding and "The Rocky Road to Dublin," a term applying to successive dips and rises. He descended at 4:17, having been up thirteen min-

utes. He was again in the air at 4:40, rising to 2,000 feet, when his engine ceased to work properly, but he came down in a thrilling spiral glide, after a flight of eleven minutes. The third flight was at 5:16, sweeping over the field, in startling dips with the "Dutch Roll" as a finale, or warping the planes laterally in successive waves, a perilous feat which brought forth thunderous applause. Three flights were made on Wednesday of ten, twelve and nine minutes, respectively, with the addition of a trial flight in the morning in which there was a number of startling evolutions, one of which was almost turning a flip-flop. Three flights were made on Thursday in spite of unfavorable atmospheric conditions in eleven, ten and four minutes the engines missing fire in the third, thus cutting it short. The entire demonstration was a great success, being the first of the kind in the Ohio Valley, and, as one of the Pittsburghers remarked, they had to come to Steubenville to see an airship.

Athletic events of Wednesday morning were held on Wells High School grounds and North Fifth street. The winners were: 100 yard dash, W. S. Goodwin, East Liverpool; two mile run, Frank Conn, 12 minutes; running high jump, R. O. McRae, Toronto, and L. A. Wells, Wellsville; 220 yard dash, R. O. McRae, 25 seconds; running broad jump, George Floto, 18 feet; 50 yard dash for boys under fifteen, Charles Stitt, 8 seconds; pole vault, L. A. Wells, 9 feet 11 inches; hop, step and jump, John Dickson, 36 feet 9 inches; half mile run, L. A. King, Cleveland, 3 minutes; putting 16 lb shot, Charles Buehler, 30 feet 10 inches.

Fully 20,000 people lined the river banks, suspension bridge and every point of advantage on

Thursday afternoon to witness the different aquatic sports and were well rewarded. The 14th Pennsylvania regiment band furnished music during the three hours of solid sport. The events were preceded by an exhibition swim from the Panhandle bridge to Market street by Miss Bessie Schroedel, the champion female swimmer of Pittsburgh. Five exciting motor boat races were run, following being the winners: Pleasure boats, 10 horse power or under, Harry M., owned by Mr. Manley, Bellaire, 27 minutes; speed boats, 10 horse power or under, 4 miles, Goldie, Arthur Keesey, Verona, Pa., 19 1-4 minutes; speed boats, 20 horse power or under, 8 miles, Keystone Girl, W. J. Straub, Cheswick, Pa., 27 minutes; speed boats, 30 horse power or under, 4 miles, Keystone Girl, 18 minutes; open race, 12 miles, Wildcat No. 2, J. E. Eker, Verona, 42 minutes. Swimming events—100 yards, men and boys, Chester Haley, first, 1 1-2 minutes; girls, Florence Bletcher, 1 minute 35 seconds; open, Reed Fowler, 1 minute 18 seconds; quarter mile canoe race, Eddie Morris, 59 seconds; overboard canoe race, 200 yards, Wm. Rodgers; canoe tilting contest, Herman Mugele and E. L. Morris; fancy diving, men and boys, Eddie Morris; girls, Florence Bletcher; half mile swim, Wm. McClintock; all these winners were from Pittsburgh.

The Stanton Social Club ball on Wednesday night, and concert and dance by the 26th Regiment band on Friday night were special features of the week.

An interesting as well as a continuous attraction was the exhibition of historical relics in the Council chamber in charge of H. G. Simmons. In the exhibit was a most valuable collection of autographs and



CAMP EDWIN M. STANTON



CHURCH SERVICE IN CAMP



RIVER CONTESTS

canes loaned by Mr. Stanton, while the history of the city and of the civil war could almost be completed from the numerous documents and relics of all kinds deposited there.

There was a balloon ascension from the Jones animal show at the head of Market street every evening from which thrilling parachute descents were made, one of which nearly cost the aeronaut his life.

Rain interfered with what would have been a fine display of fireworks on Thursday night, and they were divided between Friday and Saturday nights.

The military on the hill were a constant attraction, and hundreds visited the camp to witness the manoeuvres and listen to the music of the bands. The Y. M. C. A. tent was a great convenience to the soldiers. All the fraternal lodges kept open house; complete sanitary arrangements and abundant supply of free ice water on the streets were made for the comfort of the public, and the women had special rest rooms at the Westminster Presbyterian manse on North Fourth street, in charge of Mrs. Robert McGowan, with the King's Daughters; the W. C. T. U. being further down the street. There were temporary restaurants innumerable, and notwithstanding the immense crowds everybody, so far as is known, was comfortably housed and fed.

The transportation companies carried thousands away on Thursday night, but hundreds remained over Friday and Saturday to enjoy family reunions.

It is not pretended that the foregoing pages contain a full account of the week's events. There were hundreds of entertainments and incidents not reported but all going to make up a period unprecedented in the city's history. Public and private hospitality

was unstinted, and Lewis Stanton and family were entertained by Dr. E. Pearce at the Secretary's old home. Letters have been received by the officers of the Association from all the distinguished guests, from the military, and from private citizens, returning thanks for the manner in which they were received and entertained while in the city. Altogether it was a week of which the community may well be proud.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OHIO VALLEY'S BARBIZON.

Steubenville's Artistic Trio—Sketches of Alexander Doyle, Eliphalet F. Andrews and Charles P. Filson—Some of Their Works.

Nearly seven hundred years ago a youth was born in the Florentine City on the Arno, who holds a unique position in the artistic world. There were artists before him who were doubtless his equal, and artists followed him who were his superior, and yet his birth and life mark the end of an old epoch, and the beginning of a new. Sixteen centuries had come and gone since Praxiteles, Phidias and their contemporaries had reached the high water mark in the world's artistic progress, and since then, although there had been outbursts of genius both in communities and individuals, yet the period was one of decadence. When Greece lost her freedom she lost her ideals, and without ideals true art is non-existent. Pagan Rome, lacking the intuitive delicacy of the Grecian spirit, although strong in everything that was massive, whether in government, in a palace, a circus, an aqueduct or a roadway, was content to copy and imitate as best she could the higher flights furnished by her conquered subjects, until the enervation of luxury and the influx of northern barbarians involved nearly all in the common ruin. From that ruin evolved Christian Rome, once more giving new ideals to the world, but even ideals cannot create art

in a day. A stream cannot rise above its source, and the early Christians being generally converted Pagans could not at once escape from their traditions and environment. It was centuries before a distinctively Christian art arose, and it took form and shape not in the city of the Caesars or classic Athens, but in Constantine's new capital on the shores of the Bosphorus. There it developed with a mixture of Oriental detail and ecclesiastical conventionalism, until, by the beginning of the thirteenth century its authority was recognized wherever a community claimed a reasonable degree of civilization. By this time the old Roman Empire had entirely disappeared in the West, although its shadow was long afterwards pursued by pope and emperor, and petty principalities and so called free municipalities of Italy were taking its place. It was a period of unrest, and although Byzantine art had its merits, and was the best at hand, yet it was too cramped and too conventional for the new era that was coming. The "dark ages" had about run their course, and the renaissance was at hand, although centuries were still needed to witness its full fruition. Young Cimabue, our Florentine artist, seems to have imbibed the new ideas that were floating in the air, and possessing the technical knowledge necessary to carry them into execution he set to work on a Madonna, for the Church dominated in those days. It was a new departure. Contrary to the stiff Byzantine practice, there was at least a seeking after nature from the coloring of the flesh tints to the modeling of the form if not the drapery, more human expression to the face, with joyousness in colors as well as in sentiment. The quick witted Florentines were prompt to realize that they

had found a prize, and we read that the picture was carried in solemn procession with the sound of trumpets and other festal demonstrations from Cimabue's house to the church of Santa Maria Novella, where it was installed as the altar piece, and where it still remains, toned down by age and smoke of candles, and its outlines barely discernible in the dim light of the sanctuary.

From Cimabue it was but a step to his pupil Giotto, and beyond him to Fra Angelico and others until the full flower of the Renaissance blossomed in the glory of Raphael and Michael Angelo.

It is a far cry from the sixteenth century, but so far as America is concerned up to about the middle of the nineteenth century this country was practically a barren field. Our ancestors were too busily engaged in subduing the savages, felling the forests and getting upon their feet as it were, to give much thought to either graphic or plastic art. True, there were American painters and sculptors almost from the settlement of the country, but they generally practiced their profession abroad where there was congenial environment, and where those who could afford it usually purchased their paintings and statuary. But the American Renaissance was at hand, and the Centennial Exhibits of 1876 gave force and point to a movement that had been for a considerable time in progress.

It was during the flood tide of this movement that, on January 28, 1857, on the east side of High street, below Market, Alexander, son of George and Alice Butler Doyle was born. He was named after his grandfather, who had long been a prominent citizen of Steubenville, and a member of one of the pio-

neer families of this section. Business matters called his family to Louisville in 1860, and from thence to St. Louis, from which place they went to Italy in 1869, the father being engaged in the marble business. They remained there three years, Alexander attending an English school in Leghorn. Returning to Louisville with his parents he completed his course at the high school in that city, but his artistic instincts had been fostered during his residence abroad, and he returned to Italy in 1874, where he studied in the Carara Academy for three years. Coming back to America in 1877 he located in New York, where he has since resided, spending his summers at his cottage at Squirrel Island on the Maine Coast. In 1880 he was married to Miss Frances B. Johnson, of Hallowell, Me., their one daughter being married in 1909 to Dr. A. J. Shadman, of Boston, Mass.

Not only did Mr. Doyle pursue the study of sculpture while in Italy, but the sister arts of music and painting as well as the language of the country, in which he became thoroughly proficient. Although then under twenty years of age he took a prize for a design of a public monument under the severe conditions that govern Italian competition. He acted as organist in one of the Italian cathedrals, and was made an honorary member of the Royal Raphael Academy of Urbino.

It was not long before commissions began to pour in upon the young sculptor, until, according to a magazine article published in 1888, "At the age of thirty Mr. Alexander Doyle has executed more public monuments and statues in the United States than any other sculptor, and he is moreover, the author of more than one-fifth of those now standing in the Union." This



ALEXANDER DOYLE

statement would not hold good now, for others have come to the front since 1888, but it is a noticeable fact that where he has once placed a statue and it has been determined to have another in the same locality he has usually received the commission. For instance he has placed three statues in New Orleans, and is now engaged on a fourth.

In a conversation with a representative of a New Orleans paper during the construction of the Lee statue in 1884, Mr. Doyle remarked:

Art is forever leaving its milestone along the world's highway, and we are just beginning to learn that there is a strangely realistic genre art in marble and metal, wherein all the splendor of flesh and the beauty of drapery and dignified bearing can be and are faithfully portrayed in stone and metal. Sculpture of the ancient classic styles disdained everything but the dull imitation of form for form. Its work was, therefore, always stony, solemn and monumental. Since the ideas of the old classics are wearing away our modern sculptors depict all the gayeties and glitter of the present, just as the novelist and painter have introduced many novelties of modern times. Genre themes are no longer made "artistic" by draping them in classic garb. We prefer our heroes and statesmen clothed in the habits of our times, and often select some great incident in their career, and portray them in such a manner as to commemorate that event. The more advanced and most successful artists are those who impress the beholder with strong realism at first sight, that gives the full impression of the dignity and character of the hero. It seems to me that a statue of a great man should be a perfect likeness, with a pose that causes the observer at first sight to say, "This is no ordinary man."

These principles read very much like what Cimabue groped after over six hundred years ago, but the world has advanced since then, and it is believed that Mr. Doyle has successfully embodied them in the Stanton statue.

The death of his father on March 3, 1898, compelled Mr. Doyle to practically retire from his profes-

sion for the time being in order to act as his executor and especially to look after the stone quarrying business left by him. The taking up of the Stanton Monument project marks his re-entry into his chosen profession, this time "for keeps."

A description of Mr. Doyle's numerous works would require a volume as large as the present one. The following list however, gives some of his leading productions to date, in addition to the Stanton statue:

Marble portrait and pedestal at the grave of John Howard Payne, Washington, for W. W. Corcoran.

Marble statue and pedestal of the Right Reverend William Pinkney, Washington, for Mr. Corcoran.

Bronze equestrian statue of General Albert Sidney Johnston, New Orleans, Louisiana. For the Association of the Army of Tennessee.

Marble statue, "Calling the Roll," New Orleans, Louisiana. For the Association of the Army of Tennessee.

Portrait and pedestal in bronze and granite of General Charles G. Halpine ("Miles O'Reilly") For Dahlgren Post, Grand Army Republic, New York.

Bronze statue of General Robert E. Lee. For the Lee Monument Association, New Orleans.

Marble statue and pedestal of Margaret Haughery (known as "The Bread Giver.") For the Citizens' Committee of New Orleans.

Granite statue, "Education." On the National Pilgrims Monument, Plymouth, Massachusetts. (Model only.) For the Pilgrim Society.

Granite and Bronze Monument. For Koltes Post, Grand Army Republic, New York.

Granite statue, "Peace," and heroic alto-relief or drum of thirteen statues, typifying the original States. On the National Revolutionary Monument at Yorktown, Virginia. For the Congressional Commission.

Marble statue and pedestal of Senator Benjamin H. Hill. For the Citizens' Committee of Atlanta, Georgia.

Third prize model in the National Garfield Monument Competition at Cleveland, Ohio. Prepared for the National Committee.

The New Haven, Connecticut, Soldiers' Monument. A lofty granite tower, with colossal bronze statues of "Peace,"

"History," "Military Valor," "Commerce," and "Victory;" and four bronze alto-reliefs of "The Surrender of Cornwallis," "Perry at Lake Erie," "The Entry of General Scott into the City of Mexico," "The Surrender at Appomattox."

Bronze statue and bas-reliefs, with granite pedestal, of Sergeant Jasper. For the Citizens' Committee, Savannah, Georgia.

Bronze statue of General Philip Schuyler. For the National Revolutionary Monument at Saratoga, New York. (By appropriation of Congress.) For the Saratoga Monument Association.

Bronze statue (pedestal and terrace) of General James B. Steedman, Toledo, Ohio. For Honorable W. J. Finlay.

Bronze statue of the late Grand Secretary, I. O. O. F., James L. Ridgely. For the Sovereign Grand Lodge, I. O. O. F., Baltimore, Maryland.

Granite Mausoleum in Valley Cemetery, Manchester, New Hampshire. Designed for Aretas Blood.

Sculptured marble cross in Greenwood Cemetery, New York. For Charles W. Gould.

Mausoleum of granite and marble portrait statue, in Greenwood Cemetery, New York. Designed for Loftis Wood.

Granite monument, with marble statues of "Hope" and the Evangelists, in Evergreen Cemetery, New Haven, Connecticut. For John C. Anderson.

Marble portrait group of two children. For S. W. Cupples, St. Louis, Missouri.

Bronze tablets to Doctors Bacon, Whittlesey, Street, etc., in Center Church, New Haven, Connecticut.

Marble statue of General Garfield, Cleveland, Ohio. For the National Garfield Monument Association.

Bronze bas-relief portrait of Dr. Austin Flint, in Bellevue Hospital, New York City. For the Alumni Association of Bellevue Hospital Medical College.

Eight colossal allegorical statues in marble, for the rotunda of State Capitol. For the State of Indiana.

Bronze statue and pedestal of Horace Greeley. New York City. For the Greeley Monument Association.

Bronze statue of Joseph M. Clark. For the City Government of Jefferson City, Mo.

Bronze statue and monument (with bronze allegorical statues) of Henry W. Grady. For the Citizens' Committee of Atlanta, Ga.

Silver statuettes of Chas. W. Riffin, presented to the President and Secretaries of State and Navy. For the New York Recorder.

Bronze Buffalo-head (fountain and shield) on Capitol

Grounds, Des Moines, Iowa. For the State of Iowa.

The Montgomery, Alabama, Soldiers' Monument. For the Alabama Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Association.

Statue of Mrs. Emma Willard, Troy, N. Y. For the Alumni Association of Emma Willard School.

Statue of Senator John E. Kenna, U. S. Capitol Gallery. For the State of West Virginia.

Statues of Senators Thomas H. Benton and Frank P. Blair, U. S. Capitol Gallery. For the State of Missouri.

Monument to Gen. G. H. Ward, Worcester, Mass. For the G. A. R.

Monument to Francis Scott Key, Frederick, Md. For the State of Maryland.

Bronze statue and pedestal of Gen. R. H. Anderson. For the Citizens' Committee, Savannah, Ga.

Equestrian statue of Gen. Beauregard, for the City of New Orleans, in progress.

One of the last official acts of the Stanton Monument Association was to vote Sculptor Doyle a reproduction in gold of the official badge, as a souvenir and slight testimonial of the work which he had done for his native city.

Eliphalet F. Andrews, who has also enriched his native town by his artistic labors, is the son of Alexander Andrews. He early developed a taste for painting which became so marked that in 1859 he went to Germany for the purpose of studying under the best instructors. On his return he secured a residence with spacious grounds on the northwest corner of Fourth and Slack streets, Steubenville, where he built a studio as an addition to his home, making portrait painting a specialty. He again visited Europe in 1873, where he remained several years, pursuing his art at Dusseldorf, Paris and other cities. Several of his portraits were displayed at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, and received favorable consideration. Mr. Andrews soon after returned to America and made his permanent home

in Washington, it being a centre especially favorable to the practice of his profession. For several years he was Director of the Corcoran Art Gallery, and his portraits of Jefferson, Martha Washington, Madison, Garfield and others in the Capitol and White House are recognized as standards of the highest artistic value. In addition to the Court House portraits already mentioned, he has presented to his native city a replica of the Garfield portrait, one of his best, which ornaments the Council Chamber. His brush has also preserved the features of quite a number of private citizens, and the figures of St. John and St. Paul on the walls of St. Paul's Church, are the product of his brush.

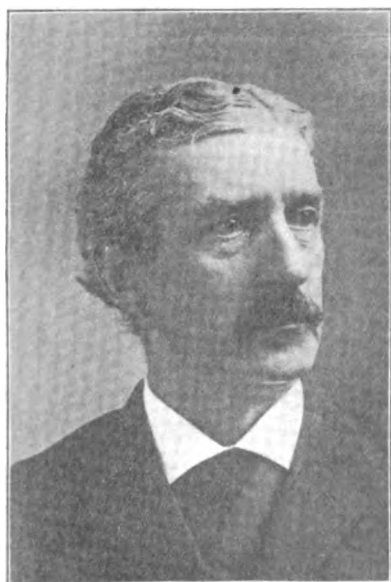
While quite a young man he married Miss Emma, daughter of Captain William Stewart, of Steubenville, who died a number of years ago. Subsequently he married Miss Mary Minnegerode, of near Alexandria, Va., a lady of charming personality, a descendant of the Custis family, and like himself, of decided artistic talent. With his wife and two children he resides at a beautiful country seat near Alexandria, with Washington as his winter home, and an almost annual trip to Europe.

The youngest of our artistic trio, in contradistinction to the others, has always retained his home in Steubenville, except during a short period of boyhood spent with his father in the West. Charles P., son of Davison and Martha A. Filson, was born in Steubenville on August 9, 1860. He received his early education in the city schools, and while yet a small boy developed a talent for sketching from nature and other work of that kind, which was quite phenomenal. His father being an experienced photo-

grapher and interested not merely in the mechanical part of his work, but in the artistic side, doing considerable outdoor as well as indoor work, young Filson's environment was altogether favorable to encouragement in his desired pursuit. In 1883 he entered into partnership with his father, having become an expert photographer, and their taste and skill combined soon gave the studio a more than local reputation, which has increased during subsequent years. Not content with photography the young man pursued drawing and painting, and his cartoons became a most desirable feature in public decorations, especially during the local Centennial celebration in 1897. His water color sketches were beautiful representations of both animated and still life. Drawing crayon portraits by the way, from there he passed to work in oil where the results were so satisfactory that when Col. John J. McCook desired to place a memorial portrait of Hon. E. M. Stanton in the college halls at Gambier, Mr. Filson received the commission. A few years since he visited Mexico and painted portraits of some prominent citizens there. Among his other works are portraits of James Ross and Governor St. Clair in Marietta College, the same in the public library at Chillicothe, a bas relief in the old State House at Chillicothe, Bezaleel Wells and James Ross in the Carnegie Library, Steubenville, and the Court House portraits heretofore described. Mr. Filson was married on March 31, 1883, to Miss Mary E. Priest, and has a pleasant home on upper Market street. He has given valuable time and labor towards making the Stanton Memorial demonstration a success. As has been said, Steubenville, if not a second Barbizon, has been at least the home of a



GEN. FREDERICK D. GRANT



ELPHALET F. ANDREWS



CHARLES F.

**company that has achieved a national reputation, and
of this company Mr. Filson is a most worthy member.**

OUR HEROES.

: : : : :

By MRS. FRANCES HALL.

When this fair land was in a sore travail,
With Freedom's banner almost trailing in the dust,
And from the South was heard the bondsman's wail,
And human flesh was sacrificed to lust,
The God of Freedom and of battle heard,
And with His pitying eye looked on our woe,
And in the hearts of men a protest stirred,
Who rose in wrath to crush fair Freedom's foe.

As through the wilderness when Moses led
The children of the Lord towards their goal,
He raised a Moses for this time of dread,
And gave us Lincoln, and breathed in him a soul,
That through the terrors of that awful time
His hand ne'er trembled, or his heart ne'er failed;
Whose judgment and decisions were sublime;
Before whose presence wrong and treason quailed.

Green be that grand man's memory. Let it grow
And blossom down the ages. Let the light
Of his great deeds go streaming forth to show
The future generations yet unborn the right
And might, when chosen by the Lord,
To do His bidding, for the sons of men on earth,
And gave him words of wisdom, and his strength a sword
To raise this blood-drenched land into new birth.

As counselor and helmsman E. M. Stanton stood
At Lincoln's own right hand, so staunch and brave,
To guide the Ship of State through seas of blood.
The port was Liberty, and a hand to save
From traitors' devastations, and the bondsman's moan;
Brother against brother, and war's accursed strife
That rends the ties of love and wrecks the home;
Takes all from everything that tends to gladden life.

E. M. Stanton, the city of thy birth at last
Has reared a monument to thine honored name!
Engraven lines, a mute remembrance of the past,
Will tell thy praises, forgetting all the blame!

For days thou struggled, and prayed for light to break
And shine upon a reunited land of peace,
With all the good that follows in its wake
Where all is love, and sounds of war shall cease.

All leaders have their captains; U. S. Grant was there;
He led the armies forth; before them fled
The sons of treason; mid battle's crash and blare
Secession died, as fire burns flaxen thread.
When that dread time of carnage and repine was o'er,
And soils were drunk with blood and woman's tears,
In new-grown strength a Nation rose, no more
To fall divided through all coming years.
He led the hosts to that long-prayed-for goal
Where Peace with gentle smile unfolds her wings,
And spreads them o'er a reunited country, whole
In Liberty, and all the blessings freedom brings.

The sons of each have lived to see the name
And glory of their deeds engraved alway
On the unmouldering pillar raised to fame,
In hearts of those where Liberty holds sway;
And so to-day we reach the welcome hand
To three illustrious sons of three illustrious sires;
As the three wise men came each from separate lands,
So come to-day the three to gather round our fires.

The countless thousands now who sleep beneath the sod,
Who died to save the country of their birth,
We mourn; but to the mercy of their God
Who watcheth o'er all creatures of the earth,
Commend their spirits, but ne'er forget the tears
And heartache as we bade them all depart;
Their memory will be cherished thro' all the coming years;
Their deeds of valor e'er graven on the heart.

Surviving veterans, a tribute due to you,
Small remnant of a once strong and sturdy host;
You had the strength to dare, and courage that will do,
Your sons and daughters now drink to you a toast!
On battlefields of carnage grow the meadows green;
The land is ripe with harvest, where fertile fields were tilled;
The trees with fruit are laden, where once were armies seen;
With your leaders share the glory, let your cup of joy be
filled.

Fifty years have flown, September's morning sun
Shines on our prosperous city; clear sounding on the air
Booms out a royal welcome from our hilltop guns;
To the breeze floats out Old Glory, streaming bright and fair,
For Steubenville and Stanton, for each returning friend
Who comes to do him honor in the city of his birth.
Our city's sons and daughters, a welcome hand extend
To the pleasures and the feasting, in the best place on earth.

Oh! Steubenville! Fair city of a plenteous land,
Who gave her flower and strength when duty bid,
Put forth the earnest strength of heart and hand
And do your work as your forefathers did,
Altho' in different channels! As they went forth to war,
So go ye forth to honor, and welcome to our home
The guests within your gates and shine a brighter star,
Reflecting all your glory on all who to you come.

STEUBENVILLE.

: : : : :

By MRS. ISABELLE McMURRAY FREELAND.

O city fair among the hills,
The river at your feet,
Your children held by ties of love
And memories sad yet sweet,
Like strains of some forgotten song
That fall on listening ear,
Will cause the eye to glisten
And moisten with a tear,
As withered bunch of violets
Or scent of new-mown hay
Will bring back past as present
Of a wondrous gladsome day.
So at the name of Steubenville,
Its river, vale or hill,
We feel our hearts beat faster,
We feel our pulses thrill.
There dwelt the purest friendship,
Strong as the Scottish clan,
Where each was true to other
And every man a man.
Thy hills were ever greenest,
The river kissed by sun,
Where the moonlight lingered longest,
When evening time had come.
You gave us years the brightest,
You hold our sacred dead,
So in our hearts you'll reign supreme,
Aye, e'en 'til life has fled.
The passing years are bringing
Industries, fame, renown,
So let us twine an ivy leaf
With the laurels in your crown.
Home Coming days are over,
Many now must roam,
But the sweetest memory each will hold
Will be Steubenville and home.

THE LAST WORD.

The Trustees of the Stanton Monument Association, of Steubenville, Ohio, now that their labors are nearing completion, congratulate the people of Jefferson County that there has at last been erected in his native city a fitting memorial to the great War Secretary, Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, as a recognition in some degree of his inestimable services in the preservation of our National unity, and the credit which he has reflected on his birth place and the home of his youth and riper years, therefore,

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Association be extended to all who have in any degree aided by their counsel, their labors or material contributions to the erection of this monument and to the complete success of the week's demonstrations connected with the dedication thereof.

RESOLVED, That while it is impossible to even approximately enumerate those who have been engaged in this work, yet it is acknowledged that special recognition is due to Alexander Doyle, through whose genius and most generous contribution of study and labor of years, this superb memorial is made possible. We are proud to claim him also as a native of Steubenville, and a worthy descendant of those pioneers who not only developed the resources of this valley, but cultivated the finer arts, without which even the most fruitful field is little better than a wilderness.

RESOLVED, That Eliphalet F. Andrews and Charles P. Filson by their artistic labors and contributions to the adornment of the interior walls of our temple of justice, as well as their invaluable labors in other directions, have not only added lustre to their already achieved reputations, but are also deserving of the hearty thanks not only of this Association but of the entire community.

RESOLVED, That special thanks are also due the members of the family of the late Secretary Stanton who honored the dedicatory exercises with their presence, as well as to the distinguished speakers; to the military organizations with their splendid bands; to our Congressman, Hon. W. B. Francis for his efforts in this behalf; to the Pittsburgh visiting delegation and its band; to the special contributors at home and abroad; to the County Commissioners for their hearty co-operation; to the Germania Turnverein for the free use of its hall for the soldiers' reunion; to the city authorities for their assistance and

excellent police regulations; to The Steubenville and East Liverpool Railway and Light Co., The Tri-State Gas Co., and The Central District and Printing Telegraph Co.; to the press for the free and practically unlimited use of its columns; to the Chairmen of the different committees and their assistants, especially the Ladies' Committee, and to the people generally, who one and all united in a demonstration unparalleled in the history of our city.

RESOLVED, That last but not least we are largely indebted to the indefatigable labors of our President, Hon. Frank H. Kerr, and of our Secretary, Joseph B. Doyle, for the successful issue of this enterprise, which, had it not been for their sacrifice of time and private interests must have languished if not died.

Respectfully Submitted,

D. J. SINCLAIR,
J. W. GILL,
WM. McD. MILLER,
Committee.

Adopted September 25, 1911.

400 RESOLUTIONS U. S. M. TELEGRAPH

RESOLUTIONS.

Adopted by the Society of the United States Military Telegraph Corps, at Atlantic City, N. J., September 5, 1911:

Whereas, coincident with the 50th Anniversary of the founding of the United States Military Telegraph Corps now being celebrated at Atlantic City, New Jersey, the citizens of Steubenville, Ohio, his birth place, are engaged in the dedication of a monument in honor of Edwin McMasters Stanton, Secretary of War during the Civil War, it seems fitting that this Society should record its expression of respect, admiration and esteem, as a tribute to the memory of the great man who was our official head. Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of this Society join heart and hand with the citizens of Steubenville in honoring the memory of their distinguished fellow citizen, whose unwavering patriotism, impatience with disloyalty and dishonesty, and his unflinching courage and untiring zeal in the discharge of the arduous duties of his high office were an inspiration to his countrymen, and contributed largely to the success of the armies in defense of the Union.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed consisting of Charles A. Tinker, David Homer Bates and Albert B. Chandler, of the War Department Telegraph Staff, with instructions to sign and forward a copy of these Resolutions, to Honorable Frank H. Kerr, Chairman of the Stanton Memorial Committee at Steubenville, Ohio, and to Mr. Lewis H. Stanton, Secretary Stanton's only surviving son at New Orleans, La.

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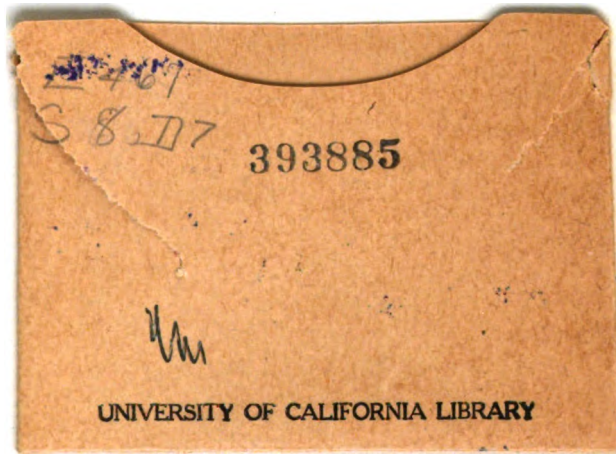
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